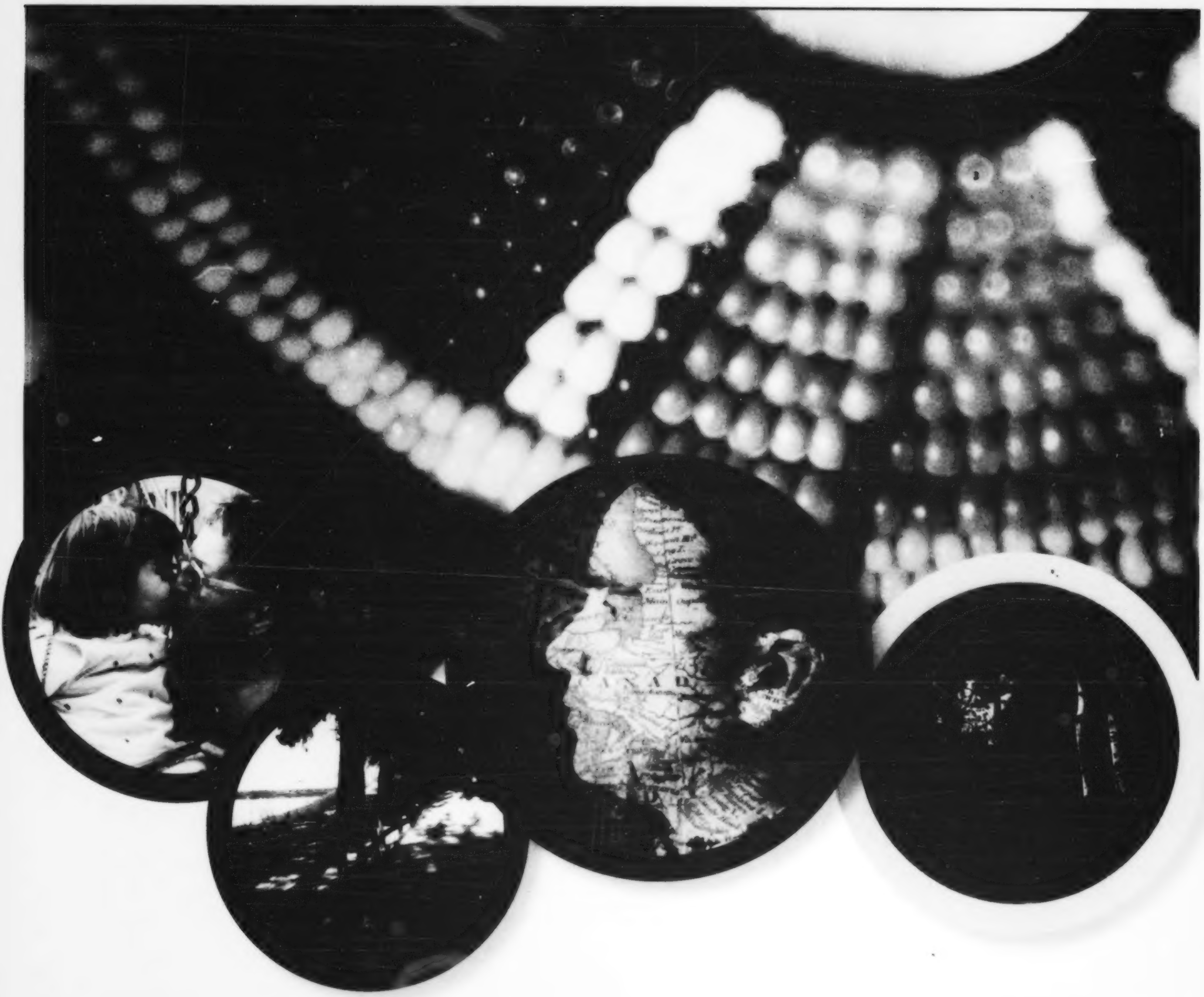
ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN MANITOBA



Canadä

Manitoba

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN MANITOBA

Canada

Manitoba

Prepared by Bruce Hallett of Service Canada, with research assistance from Nancy Thornton (Western Economic Diversification Canada), Harvey Stevens (Manitoba Family Services and Housing), and Donna Stewart (Manitoba Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat).

Additional copies may be obtained from:
Service Canada
Aboriginal Single Window
100-181 Higgins Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 3G1

or

Manitoba Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat
200-500 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3C 3X1

Printed in Canada
© Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, 2006

Cat. No. SG5-2/2006E
ISBN: 0-662-42923-0

This publication is available in either large print, audiocasestte, Braille, or computer diskette. Requested documents are automatically produced in the format selected and mailed directly.

Aussi disponible en français sous le titre Les Autochtones au Manitoba.

106-06799/

Contents

Introduction 5

Highlights 6

CHAPTER 1: Demographics 13

Manitoba's Aboriginal Population 13

Canada's Aboriginal Population 13

Aboriginal Groups 14

Geographic Distribution Within Manitoba 15

North/South Split 15

Urban Distribution 17

Trends In Population Distribution 19

Focus: Bill C-31 21

Aboriginal Languages In Manitoba 23

Age Distribution In Manitoba 23

Fertility And Birth Rates In Manitoba 25

Teen Pregnancy 26

CHAPTER 2: Health 27

Mortality 28

Infant Mortality 29

Injury and Poisoning 30

Suicide 31

Morbidity 32

Diabetes 33

Cardiovascular Disease 35

Respiratory Diseases 35

Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) 35

Tuberculosis 36

Children's Health 37

Use Of Medical Services 37

Metis Health Issues 38

Disabilities 39

Fetal Alcohol Syndrome/fetal Alcohol Effects (FAS/FAE) 40

CHAPTER 3: Child Care and Development 41

Early Childhood Development 41

Children In Care Of Child and Family Service Agencies 42

Contents

CHAPTER 4: Education and Training **45**

Functional Literacy 45

High School Completion 45

Post-secondary 46

Focus: Youth 48

CHAPTER 5: Justice **51**

Historical Incarceration Rates 51

Crime and Victimization Rates 52

Alternatives To Incarceration 53

CHAPTER 6: Labour And Income **55**

The Aboriginal Labour Force 55

Metis Labour Force Participation 57

First Nations Labour Force Participation 59

Employment And Transfer Income 60

Median Income 61

Social Assistance 62

Income Adequacy 63

On-reserve Income 65

FOCUS: Winnipeg **67**

CHAPTER 7: Housing And Mobility **71**

Homeownership 71

Shelter Costs 72

Housing Conditions And Crowding Off-reserve 73

On-reserve Housing 75

Mobility And Migration 77

Characteristics Of The Migrant Population 79

Local Residential Moves 81

Appendix A **84**

Bibliography **86**

Introduction

This publication is a joint initiative of the Government of Canada and the Province of Manitoba. It is a snapshot of Manitoba's Aboriginal population at the turn of the millennium. It is intended to:

- Serve as a resource for policy makers;
- Provide general information for those who want to learn about Aboriginal Manitobans;
- Provide factual information to aid in eliminating misinformation and stereotypes; and
- Provide baseline information for measuring program results.

In 1995, the Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat of the Manitoba Department of Northern Affairs produced a 46-page report entitled "Profile Of Manitoba's Aboriginal Population." The purpose of the report was to "... provide information on the situation Aboriginal people face in their daily lives. It outlines the demographic, social and economic conditions affecting Aboriginal people... The report does not recommend ways to address and prioritize the issues nor does it propose remedies."

Photocopied and spiral-bound, the report flew off display racks wherever it was to be found. Over 3,000 copies were eventually sent out to schools, government offices and social services agencies.

In 1999, Manitoba Northern Affairs approached the Aboriginal Single Window office in Winnipeg with a proposal to partner on the production of an updated report incorporating 1996 Census data. It was agreed that the new report would be professionally printed and receive a wide distribution, including all schools and libraries in Manitoba.

The 1996 Census differed from earlier censuses in that for the first time respondents were asked whether they identified with one of the three Aboriginal groups recognized in Canada's Constitution: i.e. North American Indian, Inuit or Metis. Previously, Canada's Aboriginal population was measured as the number of persons claiming ancestry, in whole or in part, from one of the Aboriginal groups. This made comparison of 1996 data with earlier censuses problematic, with the result that many conclusions in the resulting publication, "Aboriginal People in Manitoba" (2002) were tentative.

This publication is an update of the 2002 publication incorporating 2001 Census data. Because the Aboriginal identity question in the 1996 and 2001 censuses were identical, much clearer conclusions can be drawn about social, economic and demographic trends, at least as these apply to the 1996-2001 period.

In 2003, a special roll-up of 2001 Census data was obtained by the Aboriginal Single Window, in cooperation with the Manitoba Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat and the Manitoba Department of Family Services and Housing. Census data in this book, unless otherwise footnoted, are from this source, or from the roll-up of 1996 data obtained for the previous version of this publication.

Bruce Hallett, M.A.
Service Canada
Aboriginal Single Window

Highlights

POPULATION

There were 150,040 Aboriginal people in Manitoba in 2001, or 13.6% of the population. This proportion is much higher than in all provinces and territories except Saskatchewan (13.5%). The percentage of Manitobans identifying themselves as Aboriginal has more than doubled since 1981 (6.5%).

STATUS INDIANS

The 2001 Census counted 90,155 Status Indians in Manitoba, up 10.3% from 1996. Of these, 56% lived on-reserve, 24% in Winnipeg, and 20% elsewhere, mostly in the smaller urban centres. In northern Manitoba, 82% of Status Indians live on-reserve. Only 46% of Status Indians live in southern Manitoba, compared to 86% of Metis.

METIS

The 2001 Census counted 52,095 Metis-identity people in Manitoba, not counting Status Indians who indicated Metis identity. This is up 27% since 1996. Two-thirds of this increase is due to "ethnic mobility," i.e. persons identifying themselves as Metis who had not done so in 1996. The 2001 Metis count for the first time exceeds the on-reserve Status Indian count. 50% of Metis live in the municipality of Winnipeg.

INUIT AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Of the Aboriginal population, 4.6 % cannot be classified as either Metis or Status Indian. Most are Non-Status Indians. The Census counted only 285 Inuit in Manitoba, not counting Status Indians who indicated Inuit identity.

URBAN DISTRIBUTION

Besides Winnipeg, the largest urban centres in terms of Aboriginal population are Thompson (about 4,500), Brandon (3,700), Portage la Prairie (2,400), Selkirk (2,000) and The Pas (1,800). However, if reserves and settlements outside municipal boundaries are included, The Pas area has the highest Aboriginal population.

POPULATION TRENDS

Between 1996 and 2001, Winnipeg and on-reserve locations experienced small net in-migration of Aboriginal people at the expense of off-reserve areas outside Winnipeg. There was very little change in the population of any area due to migration, with the exception of a reduction in the number of Metis in the north. The large-scale Aboriginal migration into Winnipeg observed from 1950-1990 has not occurred during the 1990's.

AGE DISTRIBUTION

The Aboriginal population is very young, because its birth rate is much higher than that of the non-Aboriginal population. As a result, almost one in four of Manitoba's children aged 0-14 are Aboriginal. Birth rates are especially high among Status Indians, both on and off-reserve.

FERTILITY AND BIRTH RATES

First Nations fertility rates have been declining rapidly, from 5.7 children per adult female in 1970 to 2.55 in 1995. However, the large number of children aging into their child-bearing years, and the low average age of mothers, ensure that Aboriginal birth rates will remain at a level approximately twice the national average.

TEEN BIRTHS

Teen births occur among Status people at three times the average rate, and 20% of First Nations births are to single mothers under 20 years of age. This tends to perpetuate low-income and low-education status across generations.

FIRST NATIONS HEALTH DATA

A great deal of information on First Nations health issues is collected by government in comparison with other Aboriginal groups. These data show that, in comparison with national averages, Status Indians are 1.7 times more likely to be diagnosed with arthritis / rheumatism, 2.7 times with hypertension, 2.9 times with heart problems, 3.7 times with diabetes among males and 5.3 times among females, 6.5 times with tuberculosis, and 10.7 times with HIV/AIDS.

LIFE EXPECTANCY

The life expectancy of Status Indians is less than the national average by 7.4 years for males and 5.2 years for females. The difference is less for urban Aboriginal people, and greater on-reserve.

MORTALITY RATES

Status Indian neonatal (age 0-28 days) death rates have declined, and no longer exceed the Canadian average. Status post-neonatal (age 29 days to one year) death rates remain three times higher. For children age 1-4 mortality rates are four times higher, for children aged 5-14 they are 2.5 times higher, and for young adults aged 15-39 three times higher.

INJURY AND POISONING

Among Status Indians aged one to 45 years, injury and poisoning are the leading causes of death. Within this category, the leading causes are motor vehicle accidents and suicide. Status Indians are approximately twice as likely to die in motor vehicle accidents, four times as likely to drown, and five times as likely to die of fire and burn injuries, compared to other Manitobans.

SUICIDE

While injury and poisoning deaths have fallen since 1980, suicide rates have remained constant. Among Status youth aged 15-24, suicide rates are five times the national average for males and seven times for females.

DIABETES

Incidence of Type-2 diabetes among Status and Non-Status Indians has increased rapidly during the 1990's, both on and off-reserve. It has increased less rapidly among the Metis population. The diabetes rate among Status Indians in Manitoba is now 4.2 times higher than the general population. The burden of illness falls disproportionately upon Aboriginal women, and upon accumulating numbers of younger and middle-aged sufferers.

HEART DISEASE

Comorbidity between diabetes and high blood pressure leads to sharply increased risk of heart disease. Compared to just 10% of those without diabetes, 43% of Status Indians with diabetes also report hypertension. As a result, the increased prevalence of diabetes among Status Indians has resulted in an approximate doubling of hospital admissions for heart disease from 1985 to 1996.

USE OF MEDICAL SERVICES

Age-standardized data for Status Indians in Manitoba show that they are very slightly less likely to have visited a physician over the previous year, but those who have done so report a greater number of visits. Status people are only three-quarters as likely to visit a dentist, and two-thirds as likely to visit a medical specialist. However, they are twice as likely to visit a mental health specialist, twice as likely to be hospitalized, and three times as likely to be hospitalized due to intentional or non-intentional injury or poisoning.

DISABILITIES

Age-standardized Aboriginal disability rates are between one and-a-half and two times higher than the total population. Metis disability rates among ages 15-64 are slightly higher than among Status Indians. Impairments of sight, hearing and speech are more common among Aboriginal people than non-Aboriginal people. The number of disabled Aboriginal people will increase due to an aging population and the effects of diabetes.

CHILDREN AT RISK

Recent research indicates the risk of negative life outcomes multiplies with the number of risk factors (e.g. low income, single parents, etc.) Disproportionate numbers of Aboriginal children are in multiple-risk situations. However, attendance at preschool development programs facilitates cognitive and social development of economically disadvantaged children. Attendance at child-care facilities with Aboriginal-specific programming increased significantly during the 1990s

CHILDREN IN CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES CARE

Status and Non-Status Indian children are in care of child and family service (CFS) agencies in highly disproportionate numbers. In 1997, over 70% of Manitoba children in care were Aboriginal. From 1988 to 1998, the Aboriginal caseload of Winnipeg CFS tripled, while the non-Aboriginal caseload declined. The proportion of Status children under care of First Nations CFS agencies declined in the 1990s; however, CFS authorities for off-reserve are currently being transferred to Aboriginal authorities, which may reverse this trend.

FUNCTIONAL LITERACY

Aboriginal youth are becoming more likely to complete Grade 9, but so are non-Aboriginal youth. Of Status youth aged 15-29, 17.3% on-reserve and 6.5% off-reserve have not completed Grade 9, compared to just 1.6% of non-Aboriginal youth and 3% of Metis youth. Failure to complete Grade 9, an indicator of functional literacy, continues to be associated with geographic isolation.

HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION

Aboriginal high school completion rates improved during the 1990s but are still much lower than the total population. Graduation rates vary among Aboriginal groups - among persons aged 30-39, 67.3% of Metis have graduated, compared with 42.1% of Status Indians on-reserve.

ADULT EDUCATION

Aboriginal people over 25 are more likely to continue their education than non-Aboriginal people. Among Aboriginal adults aged 40-49 who have completed high school, just under one half have also attained post-secondary certification, be it university or job training. In occupational prospects, there is a wide gulf between this group and the similar sized group of Aboriginal adults who have not completed high school.

UNIVERSITY

Aboriginal people are far less likely to attend or complete university than non-Aboriginal people, with only 4% having completed a degree. Most Aboriginal university graduates are women – in Winnipeg, 7.2% of Metis and 6.6% of Status women have a degree. As a result of issues around eligibility for federally-funded post-secondary programs, Metis people have traditionally been less likely to attend university than Status Indians, but this is changing. Among persons aged 40-49 more Status Indians than Metis have attended or completed university, but among those aged 15-19, Metis youth attend in numbers three times higher than Status Indians on-reserve and one and a half times higher than Status Indians off-reserve.

OTHER POST-SECONDARY

Two-thirds of Aboriginal people pursuing post-secondary education attend community colleges or training projects, and Aboriginal people off-reserve now complete non-university post-secondary certification in numbers comparable to non-Aboriginal people. This is a distinct improvement since 1996. On-reserve, there has been little or no change since 1996, and on-reserve completion rates lag far behind off-reserve rates.

FOCUS ON YOUTH: SINGLE PARENTHOOD

One-half of single parents in Manitoba aged 15-29 are Aboriginal, although only 17.2% of youth in this age group are Aboriginal. Aboriginal youth are far more likely to be single parents in Winnipeg than elsewhere in the province. One in four Aboriginal women aged 15-29 in Winnipeg is a single parent, comprising 37% of single parents in the city.

YOUTH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND COMPLETION

Manitoba has the lowest rate of school attendance among Aboriginal youth of any province or territory in Canada. In 2001, just 46.9% of Manitoba Aboriginal youth aged 15-24 attended school either full or part-time. Manitoba also has the greatest gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth in high school completion rates. This suggests that the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal conditions will continue to widen in Manitoba, relative to the rest of the country. However, there was significant improvement in high school attendance among Status and Non-Status Indians between 1996 and 2001.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The Aboriginal youth unemployment rate in Manitoba has fallen sharply from 35.5% in 1996 to 26.6% in 2001. This is a national trend caused by improved economic circumstances: in both years, Manitoba's rate was close to the national average. Aboriginal youth in Manitoba are 2.3 times more likely to be unemployed as a non-Aboriginal youth, down from 3.5 times in 1996. The employment gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth diminishes at higher levels of education.

YOUNG OFFENDERS

Over 70% of all admissions to youth correctional facilities in 1997/1998 were Aboriginal. Aboriginal juveniles were 12 times as likely to be admitted to a facility if male and 22 times if female. The 259 Aboriginal youth in custody on May 10, 2000 represented 1.7% of the Aboriginal population aged 12-17.

STREET GANGS

An estimated 37 street gangs actively recruited members during the 1990s. By 2000, there were 1,896 gang members listed, plus 1,239 inactive members having no police contact for two years. None of the gangs restrict membership to Aboriginal youth; however Aboriginal youth are heavily represented in some of the street gangs.

HISTORICAL INCARCERATION RATES

The Aboriginal proportion of the prison population in Manitoba has increased from 10% in 1950 to approximately 60% in 2000. There is no evidence of corresponding increases in Aboriginal crime rates during this period; however, much of the increase may be explained by factors such as increased urbanization of Aboriginal people, and their concentration in the youth and young adult age groups.

ABORIGINAL OVER-REPRESENTATION IN PRISONS

Aboriginal adults are about 5.3 times as likely as other Manitobans to be incarcerated in a provincial correctional institute at any given time. However, Aboriginal people are found to be in custody in numbers to be expected given their demographic and socio-economic profile – young, poorly educated, unemployed, relatively mobile and having a preponderance of single parent families. Aboriginal over-representation is greatest in Prairie cities where these characteristics are concentrated.

LABOUR MARKET STATISTICS

Manitoba's Aboriginal labour market participation rate in 2001 was 61.4%, up from 54% in 1996. The unemployment rate was 19.1%, down from 25.3%. However, these improvements are largely due to general economic conditions, and not a narrowing of the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal workers. The Aboriginal unemployment rate was 311% that of the non-Aboriginal rate, only slightly reduced from 325% in 1996. Aboriginal people make up over 30% of the unemployed in Manitoba, despite being under 10% of the working age population. There is less contrast between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal labour market statistics in Manitoba than in Saskatchewan, which has a similar Aboriginal demographic, but still more than the national average.

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

Aboriginal unemployment rates are higher at every level of education. However, Aboriginal people with post-secondary education are more likely than non-Aboriginal people to participate in the labour market, narrowing the gap in employment rates.

LABOUR MARKET ANALYSIS

There are differences in labour market characteristics between Metis and Status people, as well as between Status people inside and outside Winnipeg, on and off-reserve. Analyzing these groups individually, rather than under the general rubric of "Aboriginal people," reveals that a lot of the things commonly believed about the Aboriginal labour markets are simply false.

METIS LABOUR MARKET

In 2001 Metis adults and youth participated in the labour market at rates substantively equal to the non-Aboriginal population, but had unemployment rates about 2.75 times higher. Across the province, the Metis participation rate was 71.7%; the unemployment rate 12.9% and the employment rate 59.4%. Due to an improved economic climate, Metis unemployment is down sharply from 1996, when it was almost 20%, and the employment rate is up sharply.

FIRST NATIONS LABOUR MARKET

There was very little change in participation, employment and unemployment rates on-reserve between 1996 and 2001, while there was considerable improvement off-reserve and in Winnipeg. Even off-reserve, far fewer Status Indians participate in the labour market and/or are employed, as compared to the Metis. Lower participation rates, even in an high-employment economy like Winnipeg's, point to a "discouraged worker effect" among many Status Indians.

ON/OFF-RESERVE LABOUR

Participation and employment rates are higher off-reserve outside Winnipeg, but so are mobility rates. Each Census reveals fewer Status Indians live in these areas, and those that remain are extremely transient. Though labour market indicators for Status Indians are relatively positive off-reserve outside Winnipeg, it is a labour market of a fairly limited size.

FIRST NATIONS WOMEN AND WORK

Status women on-reserve are less likely to participate in the labour market than men, but also have a much lower unemployment rate. Therefore, male and female employment rates on-reserve are similar. The low female unemployment rate reflects traditionally female occupations that have devolved to First Nations administration during the 1980s and 1990s. In Winnipeg, participation and employment rates are much higher for men, but they are only slightly higher for women.

SOURCE OF INCOME

Aboriginal dependence on social assistance and other government transfers as the major source of income fell dramatically from 30.8% in 1996 to 19.2% in 2001. The decline occurred in every region, both on and off-reserve, and was most dramatic in Winnipeg and the south off-reserve. Government transfers, however, remained the major source of income for 25.4% of Status Indians. Of Metis households, 10.2% depended on government transfers; however, employment was the major source of income for 67.5% of Metis compared to just 65.8% of non-Aboriginal people.

MEDIAN INCOME

Median annual incomes for Aboriginal people are far below average, primarily because relatively few Aboriginal people work full-time throughout the year. As compared to the non-Aboriginal income of $21,684, Metis received a median income of $16,550. Status people off-reserve received $13,925 in the south, $12,062 in the north, and $11,976 in Winnipeg. On-reserve, median income is lower still: $9,345 in the north and $7,615 in the south. The gap between male and female incomes is far less among Aboriginal than among non-Aboriginal people.

INCOME ADEQUACY

The most commonly used indicators are Statistics Canada's "Low Income Cutoffs (LICO)," which vary according to household size and community population. Among persons over the age of 15 and living off-reserve, 51% of Status Indians, 27% of Metis and 15% of non-Aboriginal have incomes less than the LICO. Aboriginal low-income rates are considerably higher in Manitoba and Saskatchewan than other provinces and territories. However, the low-income rate fell markedly among all Aboriginal groups between 1996 and 2001. This corresponds with improvement in employment rates.

WINNIPEG INCOMES

In Winnipeg, a much larger proportion of Aboriginal households fall below the LICO than off-reserve outside Winnipeg. Census data do not demonstrate any clear difference in standard of living between Status Indians living in Winnipeg and on-reserve, partly because the LICO is not fully applicable to on-reserve situations.

FOCUS ON WINNIPEG

In 2001, 55,755 Aboriginal people resided in Winnipeg, far more than any other Canadian city. This population increased from 45,750 in 1996, with much of that increase due to persons self-identifying as Metis who did not do so in 1996. Winnipeg's Aboriginal population is currently 50.4% Metis, 42% Status Indians, and 7% Non-Status Indians.

WINNIPEG'S INNER CITY

Aboriginal people are located throughout Winnipeg, but many are concentrated in the inner North and West Ends of the city. Here, they account for over 20% of the population of 18 different Census tracts. Aboriginal single parents and unattached individuals are particularly concentrated in the inner city.

WINNIPEG'S OUTER CITY

Two-thirds of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg live in neighbourhoods where less than 20% of the population is Aboriginal. In some neighbourhoods outside the inner city Aboriginal people approach city averages in terms of education and income, but less so in terms of unemployment rates and residential stability. Depending on the neighbourhood, two-parent families are two to three times as common as in the inner city.

WINNIPEG SINGLE PARENTS

Both First Nations and Metis single parents are disproportionately found in Winnipeg. Of single parents in the city, 18.3% are Aboriginal, compared to 8.3% of the total population. The concentration of Aboriginal single parents in Winnipeg is typical of large urban centres in Canada.

HOMEOWNERSHIP

Province-wide, 56% of Metis live in owner-occupied housing, compared to 24% of off-reserve Status Indians. In Winnipeg, 84% of Status Indians and 53% of Metis are renters. The distribution of lower-cost rental units in Winnipeg largely determines the distribution of most of the Aboriginal population.

SHELTER COSTS

Twenty-three per cent of Metis and 38% of Status Indian renters pay more than 30% of their income for shelter, a significant improvement from 1996 when the figures were 43% and 52% respectively. These figures are higher in Winnipeg, and lower in northern Manitoba.

HOUSING CONDITION OFF-RESERVE

According to Census data, 34% of Aboriginal families off-reserve live in housing in need of minor repairs, and 19% require major repairs. There was little improvement in average housing condition in 1996-2001. Aboriginal housing conditions are best in Winnipeg, and worst in the north.

CROWDING OFF-RESERVE HOUSING

Crowding is partly a factor of family size, partly of housing cost and supply. Half of Status Indians off-reserve, 43% of Metis and 33% of non-Aboriginal people live in housing with one to two persons per bedroom, which may or may not indicate overcrowding. Of off-reserve Aboriginal people, 5.8% live in housing with two or more persons per bedroom, which does. Crowding is worst in the north, where 13% of off-reserve Status Indians live in households with two or more people per bedroom. In Manitoba off-reserve, 28% of Metis and 43% of Status and non-Status Indians are in "core housing need," as defined by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC).

ON-RESERVE HOUSING

Over 80% of Status Indians on-reserve live in band-owned housing. They are a little more likely to live in crowded housing than Status Indians living off-reserve, but much more likely to live in housing needing major repairs. On most First Nations in Manitoba, between 20% and 30% of houses require major repairs or replacement. In addition, a disproportionate number of houses in the north lack access to modern plumbing and sewage disposal.

MIGRATION

Higher numbers of Status and Metis people indicated on the 2001 Census a different address one or five years ago. But omitting those who merely changed residences within the same municipality, there is little overall difference in Aboriginal versus non-Aboriginal migration rates (16.6% vs. 13.7% over five years). Status Indians on northern reserves (7.8%) and Metis in Winnipeg (10.7%) are less migratory than the provincial average, while Status Indians in Winnipeg (19.7%) and off-reserve outside Winnipeg 29% in the north and 36% in the south) are more migratory.

MIGRANT CHARACTERISTICS

Aboriginal migrants are found in disproportionate numbers off-reserve outside Winnipeg, and in less than average numbers in Winnipeg and on-reserve. As a group, the migrants are young: 80% of migrant Aboriginal adults are aged 15-39 compared to 62% of all Aboriginal adults. Single parents and persons in non-family situations are over-represented in this group. Their educational levels are higher than average.

MIGRANTS LIVING IN WINNIPEG

Aboriginal migrants to Winnipeg find a shortage of suitable housing within an affordable price range. There is a tendency to try to minimize crowding by forming larger households in rented accommodations with a greater number of bedrooms.

LOCAL RESIDENTIAL MOVES

Most of the apparently high mobility rate of Aboriginal people consists of residential moves within the same municipality. This pertains particularly to Winnipeg, where of 46,850 Aboriginal people aged 5+ in 2001, only 15,440 lived at the same address five years earlier. In the past year alone, 31% had moved. This is linked to the low rate of homeownership. Moving within and among inner-city neighbourhoods contributes to unstable school enrolment for the children.

CHAPTER 1: Demographics

MANITOBA'S ABORIGINAL POPULATION

In 2001, 150,040 Aboriginal people lived in Manitoba according to Statistics Canada, accounting for 13.6% of Manitoba's total population.[1] The Aboriginal proportion of the population has been increasing rapidly over the past 20 years. In 1981 the Aboriginal population was 66,280 or 6.5% of the total. In 1986 this rose to 93,450 or 8.7%, in 1991 to 116,200 or 10.6%, and in 1996 to 128,910 or 11.7%.[2]

While the total population of Manitoba has been relatively stable, the Aboriginal population has been increasing due to a higher birth rate, combined with an Aboriginal mortality rate that is much lower than prior to 1981. Other factors which have been linked to the apparent growth of this population are:

1 greater propensity to declare Aboriginal origins:

2 the effects of Bill C-31:

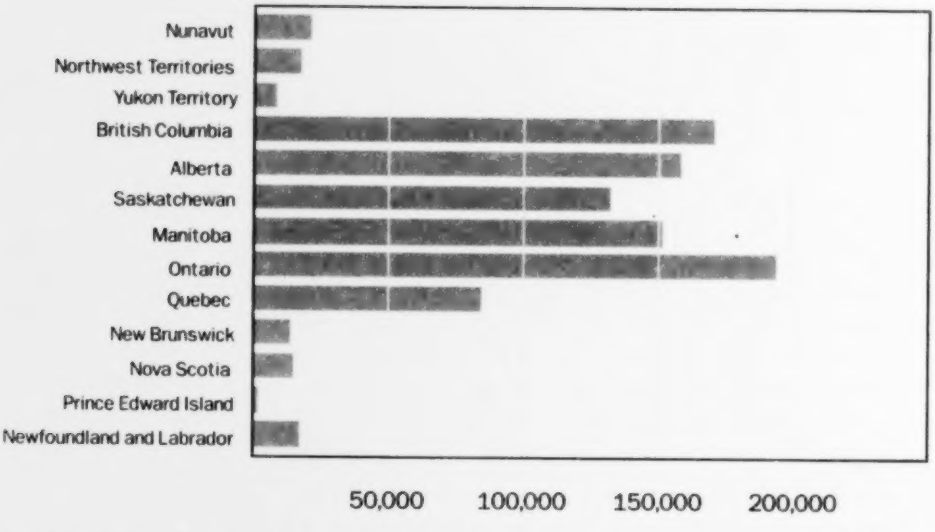
3 improved Census coverage of remote and urban populations; and

4 more diligent Indian Act registration of young children.

CANADA'S ABORIGINAL POPULATION

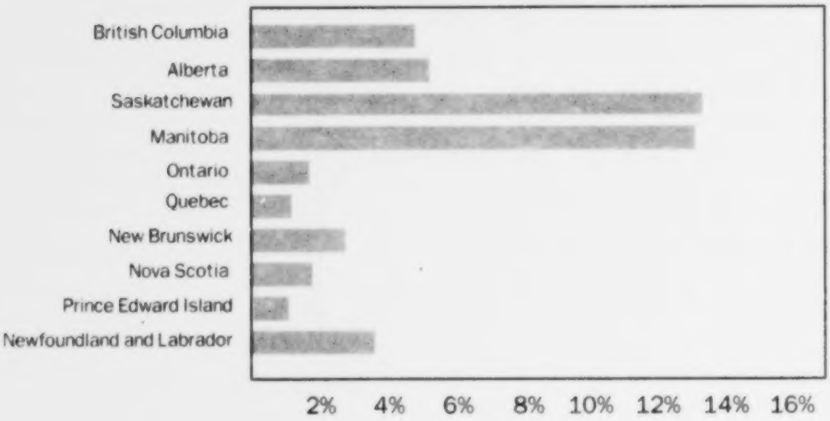
Manitoba is one of several provinces and territories with a significant Aboriginal population, ranking fourth in total population behind Ontario (188,315), British Columbia (170,025,) and Alberta (156,220).[3] Almost one in six Canadian Aboriginal people reside in Manitoba.

Geographic Distribution of Canadian Aboriginal Population, 2001 Census



In 2001, 55,755 Aboriginal people resided in the Census Metropolitan District of Winnipeg, almost 8,000 more than in Nunavut,[4] Yukon and the Northwest Territories combined.

Proportionally, Manitoba and Saskatchewan have the highest percentage of Aboriginal people among the ten provinces, by a considerable margin. Because of the relatively low total population in these two provinces, Aboriginal people comprise just under 14% of their respective populations. Alberta is third at 5%, followed by B.C. at 4.4%. Aboriginal people comprise less than 2% of the population in Ontario and Quebec.[5]



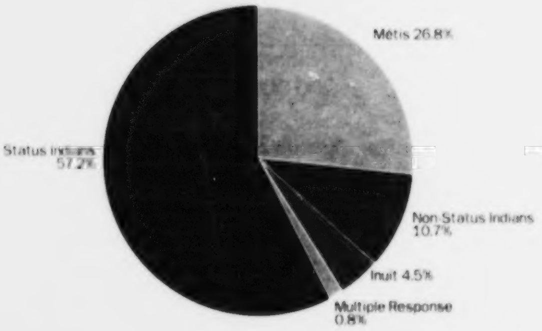
Aboriginal as Percent of Total Population, by Provinces excluding Territories, 2001 Census

ABORIGINAL GROUPS

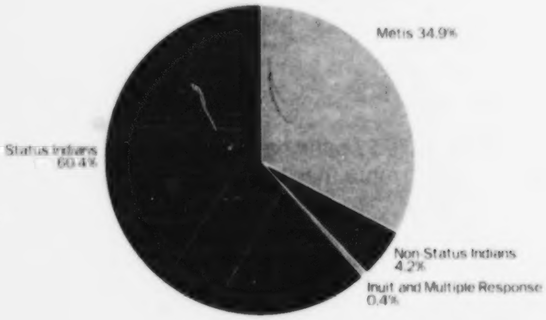
According to Statistics Canada data, 90,345 or 60% of Manitoba's Aboriginal people fall under the North American Indian classification. This includes Status and Non-Status, treaty and non-treaty. First Nation groups indigenous to Manitoba include Ojibway, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dakota and Dene.

Of Manitoba's Aboriginal people, 90,155 are Status Indians; i.e. persons registered under the Indian Act. There is a distinction between the Status Indian group and the North American Indian identity group, because some Status Indians identify with a different group (Metis), and some Indian-identity people are not registered under the Indian Act (Non-Status Indians). In some other provinces, particularly in the east, the Indian-identity group is much larger than the Status Indian group.

Canada 2001



Manitoba 2001



Manitoba's population includes a larger percentage of Metis people than the Canadian average. There are 52,095 Metis people in Manitoba, excluding persons indicating Metis identity who also indicate that they are registered Indians, comprising 34.9% of Manitoba's Aboriginal population.[6] By comparison, 26.8% of Aboriginal people across Canada are Metis by this definition.[7] Inuit, non-Status Indians and "other/multiple responses"[8] constitute a smaller proportion of Aboriginal people in Manitoba, as compared to the national average.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION WITHIN MANITOBA

In 2001, 51,720 or 34.7% of Manitoba's Aboriginal people lived within the municipal boundaries of the City of Winnipeg (55,755 within the Census Metropolitan Area of Winnipeg). Another 52,025 or 34.8% lived on-reserve in 62 Bands/First Nations scattered throughout the province. The remaining 30.5% lived in other urban settings, Metis communities, rural areas or Crown Land.

Of the approximately 90,000 Status Indians counted during the 2001 Census, 56% lived on-reserve, 24% in Winnipeg and 20% elsewhere – mostly in urban settings. Of the approximately 52,000 Metis, 50% lived in Winnipeg, and 50% in other urban centres and smaller communities – many in predominantly Metis communities, some adjacent to First Nations and some not.

According to Census data 6,900 Aboriginal people in Manitoba could not be classified as either Status Indians or Metis. Of these, 6,300 indicated North American Indian identity but not registration under the Indian Act (non-Status Indians). The rest were Inuit (285) or indicated multiple Aboriginal identity but not registration under the Indian Act (380). Of this Non-Status, Non-Metis group, 57% lived in Winnipeg, with 3,000 in other urban or rural settings.

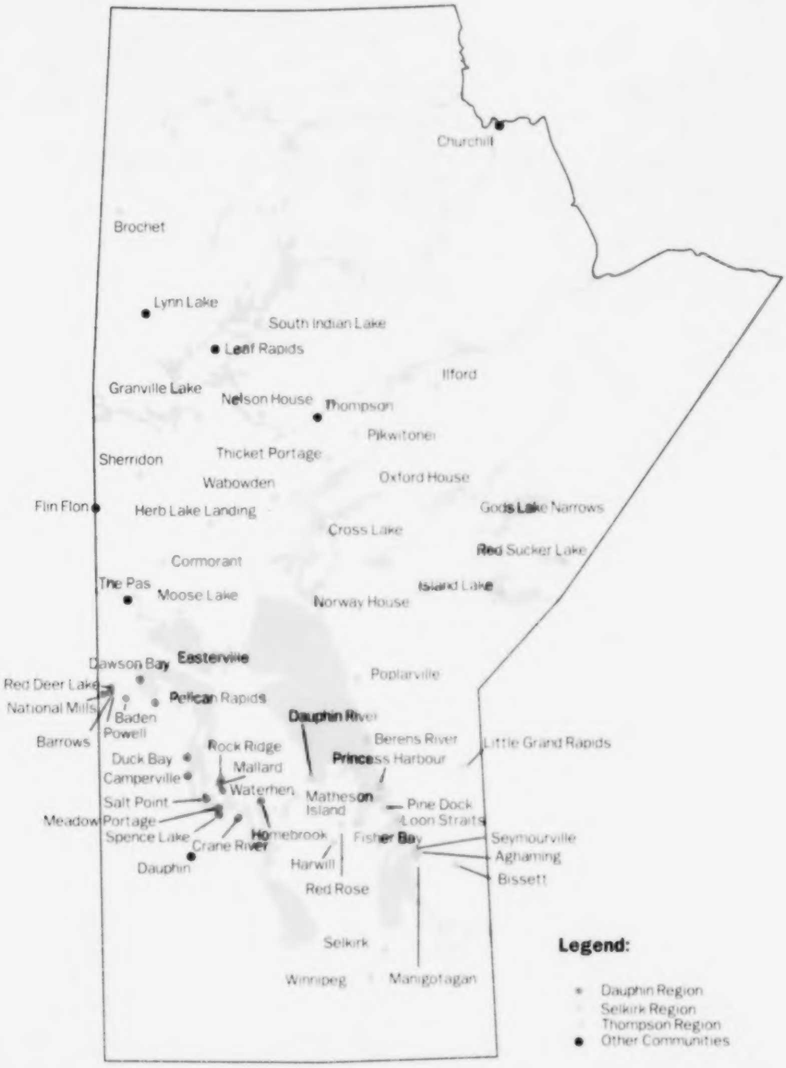
NORTH/SOUTH SPLIT

Living in northern Manitoba are 57,445 Aboriginal people, as defined by the Manitoba Department of Northern and Aboriginal Affairs.[9] Although the Aboriginal population of northern Manitoba increased by 4,000 from 1996 to 2001, the percentage of Aboriginal Manitobans living in the north declined from 42% to 38.5%.

Aboriginal people comprised a clear majority (62%) of the people in Northern Manitoba in 2001, and this has increased from 57% in 1996. By contrast, just 8.5% of the population in Winnipeg and 10.3% in southern Manitoba outside Winnipeg are Aboriginal. In the north, 98.5% of people on-reserve and 32.5% of people off-reserve are Aboriginal. In the north, 71% of Aboriginal people live on-reserve, compared to just 18% in the south including Winnipeg. Many southern First Nations have over half of their members residing off-reserve. North and south are two very different contexts for Aboriginal people in Manitoba.

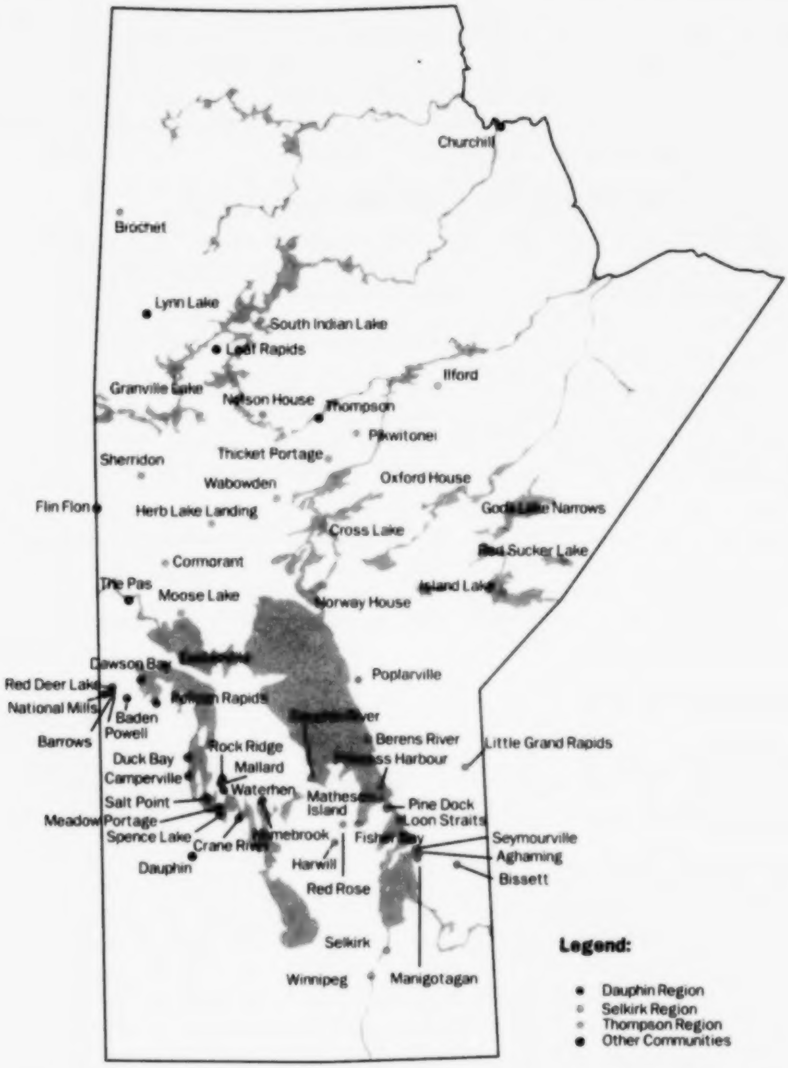
Fully 48,995 or 85.3% of northern Aboriginal people are Status Indians, of whom 40,090 or 82% live on-reserve. Manitoba has a higher proportion of its on-reserve citizens living in isolated, fly-in communities than any other province except Quebec – 32% according to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada data. Of 8,905 off-reserve Status Indians in the north, about half live in Thompson or The Pas, and half elsewhere in the north.

Thirteen per cent of northern Aboriginal people are Metis, down from 15% in 1996. The northern Metis population actually declined by about 300 between 1996 and 2001. Metis people live on Indian Reserves (445) and elsewhere (6,995). The urban centres of Thompson, The Pas and Flin Flon account for just 2,750 Metis in the north, leaving over 4,200 in scattered settlements, many of which are Northern Affairs communities adjacent to reserves. An additional 1,015 Aboriginal people in the north are non-Status Indians or Inuit. There are issues around access to services for many of these northerners.


Churchill
Brochet
Lynn Lake
South Indian Lake
Leaf Rapids
Ilford
Granville Lake
Nelson House
Thompson
Pikwitonei
Sherridon
Thicket Portage
Wabowden
Oxford House
Flin Flon
Herb Lake Landing
Gods Lake Narrows
Cross Lake
Red Sucker Lake
Cormorant
The Pas
Moose Lake
Island Lake
Norway House
Dawson Bay
Easterville
Red Deer Lake
Poplarville
National Mills
Pelican Rapids
Baden
Dauphin River
Barrows
Powell
Berens River
Little Grand Rapids
Rock Ridge
Duck Bay
Princess Harbour
Mallard
Camperville
Waterhen
Matheson Island
Salt Point
Pine Dock
Loon Straits
Meadow Portage
Spence Lake
Homebrook
Fisher Bay
Seymourville
Crane River
Aghaming
Dauphin
Harwill
Bissett
Red Rose
Selkirk
Winnipeg
Manigotagan
Legend:
Dauphin Region
Selkirk Region
Thompson Region
Other Communities

Ninety-two thousand or 61.5% of self-identified Aboriginal people live in southern Manitoba. This is up sharply from 74,070 in 1996, and much of the difference is due to increases in the number of people who self-identified as Metis on the Census. Of these, 49% are Metis, 45% Status Indian, and 6% other Aboriginal, mostly Non-Status Indians. Of southern Aboriginal people, 60% live in Winnipeg and 40% outside.

In the south outside Winnipeg, 11,135 Status people live on-reserve and 8,290 off-reserve, mostly in urban settings. Metis persons (18,485) live in southern Manitoba outside Winnipeg, up sharply from 13,175 five years earlier, plus 1,980 other Aboriginal persons. Strikingly, 86% of Manitoba Metis people are located in the south, including Winnipeg, as compared to only 46% of Status Indians.


Churchill
Brochet
Lynn Lake
South Indian Lake
Leaf Rapids
Granville Lake
Nelson House
Thompson
Ilford
Pikwitonei
Sherridon
Thicket Portage
Wabowden
Oxford House
Flin Flon
Herb Lake Landing
Gods Lake Narrows
Cross Lake
Red Sucker Lake
Cormorant
The Pas
Moose Lake
Island Lake
Norway House
Dawson Bay
Poplarville
Red Deer Lake
National Mills
Rapids
Baden
Powell
Barrows
ver
Berens River
ss Harbour
Little Grand Rapids
Rock Ridge
Duck Bay
Mallard
Camperville
Waterhen
Salt Point
Matheson
Island
Pine Dock
Loon Straits
Meadow Portage
Spence Lake
Crane River
mebrook
Fisher Bay
Seymourville
Aghaming
Bissett
Dauphin
Harwill
Red Rose
Selkirk
Winnipeg
Manigotagan
Legend:
● Dauphin Region
● Selkirk Region
● Thompson Region
● Other Communities

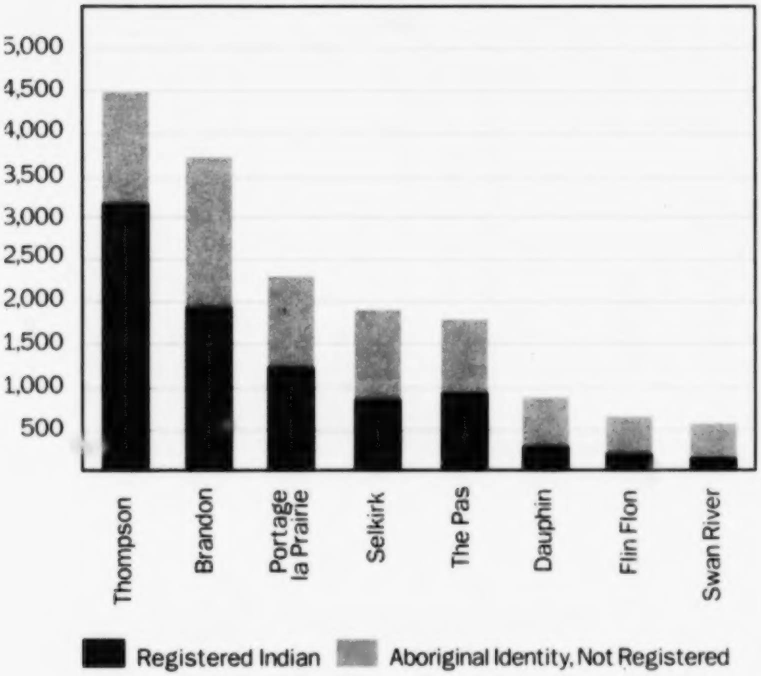
Ninety-two thousand or 61.5% of self-identified Aboriginal people live in southern Manitoba. This is up sharply from 74,070 in 1996, and much of the difference is due to increases in the number of people who self-identified as Metis on the Census. Of these, 49% are Metis, 45% Status Indian, and 6% other Aboriginal, mostly Non-Status Indians. Of southern Aboriginal people, 60% live in Winnipeg and 40% outside.

In the south outside Winnipeg, 11,135 Status people live on-reserve and 8,290 off-reserve, mostly in urban settings. Metis persons (18,485) live in southern Manitoba outside Winnipeg, up sharply from 13,175 five years earlier, plus 1,980 other Aboriginal persons. Strikingly, 86% of Manitoba Metis people are located in the south, including Winnipeg, as compared to only 46% of Status Indians.

URBAN DISTRIBUTION

Outside Winnipeg, no Manitoba urban area has an Aboriginal population of more than about 4,500 people. The following chart shows the Aboriginal populations of eight urban municipalities where Friendship Centres are located:[10]

Aboriginal Population, Selected Urban Municipalities, 2001 Census



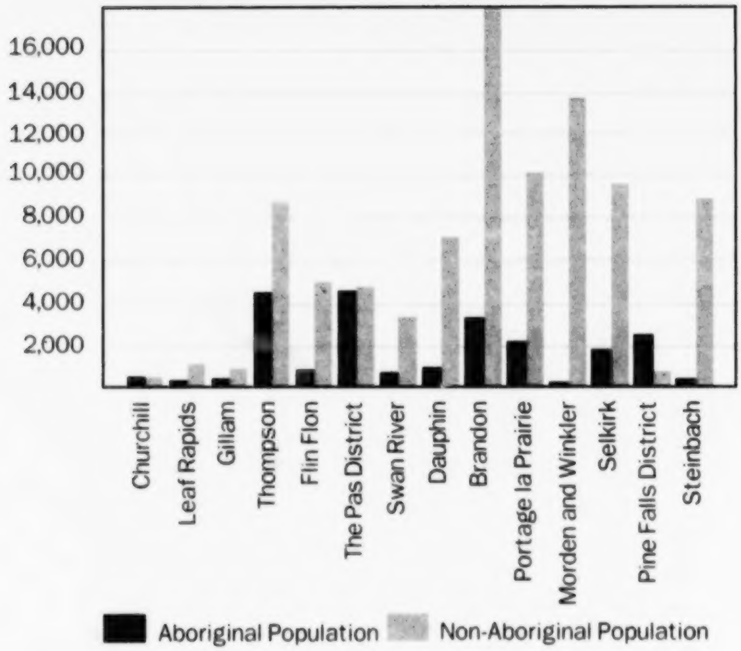
Thompson and Brandon are the two centres with the greatest number of Status Indians residing within their municipal boundaries (3,220 and 1,975 respectively), followed by Portage la Prairie and The Pas. Status Indians make up about 24% of the population in Thompson, 16% in The Pas, 9% in Portage la Prairie, 7% in Selkirk, 5% in Brandon and between 3.5% and 4% in the other four centres. Interestingly, all of these centres except Flin Flon have a higher proportion of Status Indians than Winnipeg (3.6%).

In total, 8,720 Status Indians reside in these eight municipalities, where a further 7,800 people indicate Aboriginal identity but are not registered under the Indian Act. These are almost entirely Metis-identity people. Metis outnumber Status Indians in Selkirk, Dauphin, Flin Flon and Swan River.

It is worth noting that the Aboriginal population of Thompson increased by about 900 from 1996 to 2001, while the total population decreased by over 1,000. Therefore, the Aboriginal component of the population of Thompson increased from 25% to 34%. No other larger urban centre in Manitoba experienced population swings of this magnitude.[11]

A different view of the urban distribution of Aboriginal people outside Winnipeg is provided in the following chart. Here, adjacent communities comprising a single urban geographical and economic unit are combined – i.e. Morden and Winkler; The Pas, Opaskwayak Cree Nation and Rural Municipality of Kelsey (Carrot Valley); and Powerview, Pine Falls and Sagkeeng First Nation. The 36,000 Non-Aboriginal population of Brandon is truncated in this chart to better show the population in smaller urban centres:[12]

Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Population, Selected Urban Areas, 2002 Census



From this perspective, the Aboriginal population in and around the Town of The Pas actually exceeds that in and around Thompson – 4,800 compared to 4,500 in raw numbers, and 49% compared to 34% as a proportion of the total population. The Aboriginal populations in these two centres are on a par with the larger reserve areas in the North, such as Island Lake, Norway House, Nelson House and Cross Lake. A number of other reserves also have larger Aboriginal populations than any urban areas in the north other than Thompson and The Pas

In the south outside Winnipeg, Brandon has the largest urban Aboriginal population, at 3,725 or 9.4% of the total population of Brandon. The Aboriginal demographic in Brandon is similar to Winnipeg, except that Brandon has a higher relative proportion of Status Indians while Winnipeg has a higher proportion of Metis. Portage la Prairie and Selkirk are the next largest urban Aboriginal communities in the south, followed by the Pine Falls area and Dauphin.

Aboriginal people comprise 18% of the population in Portage la Prairie and 20% in Selkirk – much larger proportions than other southern urban centres. Quite a number of southern towns contain very few Aboriginal people: for example, Morden/Winkler (165 or 1.2%), Neepawa (55 or 1.7%), and Carman (55 or 1.9%). Other towns which recorded few Aboriginal people in 1996 now show considerable numbers due to increased Metis self-identification from 1996 to 2001. The Aboriginal-identity population increased from 1.8% to 3.9% in Steinbach, from 1.5% to 5.1% in Minnedosa, and from 1.5% to 5.4% in Beausejour.[13]

TRENDS IN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

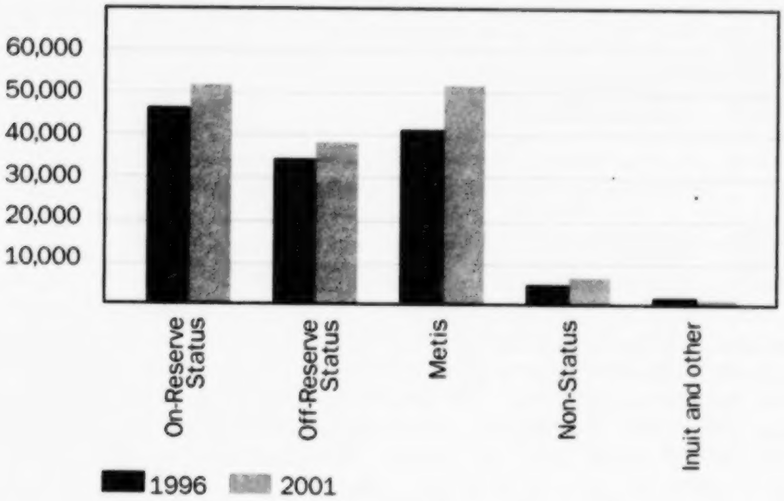
Other than a slight decline in the numbers of Metis people in northern Manitoba, there is no evidence of any large shifts in actual Aboriginal population distribution between 1996 and 2001 resulting from migration between areas or differences in birth or death rates between Aboriginal groups. The major trend during this period has been the increased tendency of Metis persons to identify themselves as such on the Census.

The Census population of Status Indians increased from 81,715 to 90,155, or 10.3%. This very closely approximates the natural rate of increase (births minus deaths) for this group. By contrast, the population self-identifying as Metis, but not registered under the Indian Act, increased from 40,720 to 52,085, or 27.9%. The birth rate for the Metis is a little lower than for the status population. Therefore, it can be estimated that fully two-thirds of this increase is due to ethnic mobility; that is, persons who did not identify themselves as Metis on the 1996 Census doing so on the 2001 Census.

The self-identified Metis population increased by 31.8% in Winnipeg, and by 41.2% in southern Manitoba outside Winnipeg. Apparent shifts in total Aboriginal population, from north to south, or from rural areas into Winnipeg, can be explained largely by Metis ethnic mobility. It should be noted that this increased self-identification of the Metis is a recent trend: the Metis population only increased by 5% between 1991 and 1996.

A result of this growth in Metis self-identification is that the Metis Census population now exceeds the on-reserve First Nations Census population, for the first time since these figures have been kept.

Manitoba Aboriginal Population by Group, 1996 and 2001 Census



Actual shifts in population during 1996 to 2001 have been slight. Mobility between areas can be analyzed using the Census question that asked respondents where they lived five years earlier.

As shown in the following diagram, the period 1996-2002 saw a net migration of 515 Aboriginal people to reserves, of whom 350 migrated from Winnipeg. There was a net migration of 505 Aboriginal people from northern to southern Manitoba. There was also a net in-migration of 585 people to Winnipeg, as the number of people who migrated from Winnipeg to reserves was more than offset by the number who moved to Winnipeg from other off-reserve locations.

Given the very small net in-migration of Aboriginal people to Winnipeg in 1996-2001, and a small net out-migration in 1991-1996, it follows that any growth in Winnipeg's Aboriginal population during the 1990s was the result of natural population growth, plus an increased propensity of persons to self-identify as Aboriginal, especially Metis. This is in contrast with a widely-held perception of rapid Aboriginal migration into the city, which originated in the 1960s to 1980s, when in-migration rates were much higher.

A 1996 study of 1986-1991 Aboriginal migration patterns suggests why earlier in-migration trends may have reversed. Clatworthy et al found a net in-migration of 5,540 to Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) nationally, much less than had been expected. There was also in this period a net in-migration to reserves of 9,540, and a net migration from CMAs to reserves. Both CMAs and reserves received most of their in-migrants from rural areas and smaller urban centres.[14] There is only a limited Aboriginal population in these areas due to decades of rural depopulation. Therefore, at some point in the late 1980s or early 1990s, out-migration from large cities to reserves ceased to be compensated by in-migration from other off-reserve locations.

Net Intra-Provincial Migration of Aboriginal People, 1996-2001

North	On-Reserve Net +80 -35 to On-Reserve (South) -105 to Off-Reserve (North)	Off-Reserve Net -585 -35 to On-Reserve (South) -415 to Winnipeg -240 to Off-Reserve (South)	
South	On-Reserve Net +435 -35 to On-Reserve (South) -105 to Off-Reserve (North)	Off-Reserve Net -515 -85 to On-Reserve (South) -520 to Winnipeg -150 to On-Reserve (North)	Winnipeg Net +585 -280 to On-Reserve (South)

Although there was little net migration between 1996 and 2001, there was considerable "churn" in population patterns as Aboriginal people on average tend to be more migratory than non-Aboriginal people. For instance, though the net migration to Winnipeg to other southern off-reserve locations was only 520, this represented 1,670 people moving from Winnipeg and 2,190 people moving to Winnipeg. In addition, a total of 4,380 Aboriginal people arrived in Manitoba from other provinces and territories within Canada. Of these, 2,100 arrived in Winnipeg and 1,415 in other southern off-reserve locations. Later sections of this book dealing with specific socio-economic issues will highlight new and existing data regarding sections of the Aboriginal population who are relatively mobile or migratory.

FOCUS: Bill C-31

The 1985 amendments to the Indian Act, commonly referred to as Bill C-31, have had a significant affect on Aboriginal demographics over the past 20 years. Intended primarily to eliminate gender discrimination in the Act, Bill C-31 contained three sets of provisions with the potential to affect First Nations and other Aboriginal populations.

Reinstatement of Indian Status

The provisions that have attracted the most attention are those enabling the reinstatement of registered Indian Status to individuals who lost or were not allowed Status through previous versions of the Act, usually women marrying non-Indians and children of these unions. The bulk of C-31 reinstatements occurred during 1986-1991, but there is no sunset on these amendments and small numbers of "C-31s" continue to be registered each year.

Across Canada, Bill C-31 has had its greatest effect on the Status population in Ontario, and relatively less effect in Manitoba and the other Prairie provinces. Still, in Manitoba there were a total of 15,517 C-31 reinstatements as of 1999. The majority of these were processed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Of all the provinces, Manitoba has the highest proportion of C-3's residing on reserve – 26% compared to the national average of 16% (and only 8% in Ontario). The vast majority of this group (over 90%) resided on reserve at the time of their registration. Therefore, the effect of Bill C-31 upon actual reserve populations has been minimal.

On the other hand, Bill C-31 reinstatement has had a major effect on the off-reserve Status Indian population. While C-31s in 1996 constituted 6% of Status Indians on-reserve, off-reserve they constituted fully one-third. As virtually all C-31s are also members of individual First Nations, this has also meant that the off-reserve component of many Band membership lists has increased significantly, even in the absence of any actual net migration to or from the reserve.

Status Inheritance Rules

The second set of provisions in Bill C-31 impacting Aboriginal demographics were new rules governing entitlement to Indian registration among children born to a registered Indian parent after April 17, 1985. These are called "status inheritance rules." Under the new rules, "registered Indian status is now determined at birth and cannot be lost or restored." A child is entitled to registration under sub-section 6(1) if both parents are or are entitled to be registered Indians, and under sub-section 6(2) if only one parent is entitled to be a registered Indian under 6(1). However, if one parent is non-Indian and the other is registered under 6(2), their child is not eligible for Indian Status.

Therefore, after two successive generations of out-marriage, children are not entitled to Indian registration. The effect of this provision to date has been small, but in the long term there will be a growing segment of the population having at least one registered Indian parent which is not eligible to be registered. The size of this group will depend upon rates of out-marriage, and will impact individual First Nations differently depending on their location and on/off reserve demographics.

In 1995, the estimated rate of out-marriage among on-reserve Status Indians in Manitoba was 26%, out-marriage being defined as "the probability of a child being born to an Indian/non-Indian parent combination." This rate was relatively constant over the 1975-1995 period. Assuming these children are correctly documented according to the logic of Bill C-31, this will mean about 75% of children of reserve Status Indians will be registered 6(1), over 20% under 6(2), with a small minority not eligible for registration.

Off-reserve, the rate of out-marriage is much higher, estimated at 62.5% in Manitoba. As the generation born off-reserve after 1985 reaches its reproductive years, a diminishing minority of their children will be 6(1) eligible, and a significant and ever-increasing segment of the children will be non-registered. In this sense, the increase in the Status Indian population produced by Bill C-31 reinstatement is, taking the longer view, temporary. In 1985-1995, an estimated 13,336 children nationally were born to registered Indian parents but were ineligible for registration. Of these, over 90% were born to registered Indians living off-reserve.

Band Membership Rules

The third set of Bill C-31 provisions affecting demographics are those providing individual First Nations the opportunity to establish their own band membership rules. As many as 40% of First Nations across Canada have established membership rules substantively different from Indian Act status inheritance rules. Of these, 15% adopted some form of unlimited one-parent inheritance, which means band membership can rise rapidly and include persons not eligible for registration. 5% adopted some form of a blood quantum rule, where a person's eligibility for membership is determined by their "amount of Indian blood," usually set at 50%. Finally, 11% of First Nations established restrictive two-parent inheritance rules, whereby a child is not eligible for membership unless both their parents are members of that band. Blood quantum rules and, to an even greater extent, two-parent rules may mean that as time goes on there will be a growing subclass of registered Indians, on and off-reserve, who are not eligible for membership in any specific First Nation.

Saskatchewan First Nations have been by far the most likely to adopt two parent rules, followed by the Atlantic region and British Columbia. Blood quantum rules are more popular in Alberta, Northern Canada and Ontario. Manitoba First Nations, by contrast, are second only to Quebec bands in their likelihood to use Indian Act rules, thereby minimizing the disjuncture between Status and band membership.[15]

Discussion based on Four Directions Consulting Group, "Implications of First Nations Demography," Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1997, pages 14-34.

ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES IN MANITOBA

Although spoken most by elders and least by the young, use of Aboriginal languages continues to be prevalent. However, mother tongue (first language learned and still understood) and home language (the language used most frequently in the home) vary among the Aboriginal groups and across the regions of Manitoba.

For all Aboriginal people in Manitoba, English is the most common mother tongue at 72.7%, up sharply from 65% in 1996. Cree is the second most common mother tongue at 12.4% (down from 18% in 1996), followed by Ojibway (6%) and French (4%). Only 3% indicated more than one mother tongue – in most cases English and one or more Aboriginal languages.

In terms of languages spoken at home, 80% indicated a single language, and in 92% of cases this language was English. Therefore, only 8% of Aboriginal people can be reckoned to be unilingual in a language other than English. This group consists of 4,565 Cree speakers, 2,080 Oji-Cree and 2,020 Ojibway.[16]

In Manitoba, 29,520 people indicated more than one language was spoken in the home, usually English and one or more Aboriginal languages. Altogether, nearly 40,000 people reported using an Aboriginal language at home, whether exclusively or along with another language. This group is located, for the most part, in northern Manitoba, while English is the home language of the overwhelming majority in the south.

Some evidence of the vitality of Aboriginal languages on reserve is provided by the 1998 Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey. Fully 55% of respondents, most of whom were 25-44 years of age, indicated they were more comfortable using an Aboriginal language in day-to-day conversations. Fully 74% felt there had been progress over the past few years in promoting the use of Aboriginal languages.[17]

Among the Metis in Manitoba, English is the mother tongue of 86.4%. French is the second most reported mother tongue at 11% but only 740 persons reported French as the language most commonly used in the home. While 1,420 Metis reported Cree or Ojibway as their mother tongue, only 225 Metis indicated an Aboriginal language as a single response for language used in the home.[18] Very few Metis reported Michif as either mother tongue or home language. However, some language specialists maintain that Metis people who indicate use of French or Cree are actually speaking Michif variants or dialects.

AGE DISTRIBUTION IN MANITOBA

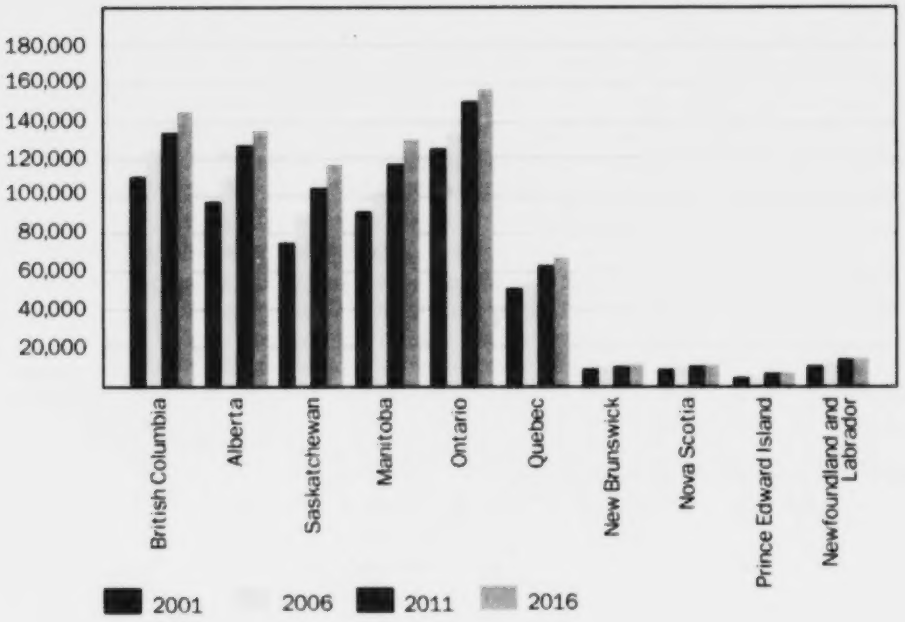
The Aboriginal population in Manitoba is considerably younger than the total population. Of Aboriginal people, 36.1% are under the age of 15, as compared to just 18.8% of the non-Aboriginal population. Of Aboriginal people, 61.3% are under 30, compared to 38% of the non-Aboriginal population. On the other hand, only 3.7% of Aboriginal people are 65 or older, compared to 14.8% of non-Aboriginal people.

The age distribution of the Aboriginal population has important consequences for the demands for certain social services, now and in the future. Most obvious, close to one third of Aboriginal people are in the primary and secondary school age population, compared to less than one fifth of non-Aboriginal people. There is also greater potential demand for post-secondary education and vocational training, a demand that will increase dramatically as the large cohort of Aboriginal children aged 0-14 grows into the working age population. Finally, the labour market will need to absorb increasing numbers of Aboriginal youth over the next few decades, or social institutions will need to cope with the consequences of a failure to absorb these youth into the labour market.

While 13.6% of Manitobans of all age groups are Aboriginal, 23.4% of children aged 0-14 are Aboriginal, or almost one in four. In many school districts in the north and in several school catchment areas in central Winnipeg, a majority of school age children are Aboriginal, even where Aboriginal people are a minority overall. Approximately 35% of school age Aboriginal people live on reserve, where funding is provided through Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Education for the remaining 65% is provincially and municipally-funded. In off-reserve and urban settings, about one-half of Aboriginal school age children are Status and one-half are Metis, Non-Status or Inuit.

Because one-quarter of Manitoba children aged 0-14 in 2001 were Aboriginal, it follows that one in four persons reaching working age in 2005-2020 will be Aboriginal. The Aboriginal population in Manitoba, in common with Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Territories, is younger than the national average, which means that the working age population will grow at an accelerated rate over the next 15 years. The following charts show projected working age populations and cumulative growth by province, based on the aging of children currently identified as Aboriginal and under the age of 15.[19]

Projected Aboriginal Working Age Population by Province, 2001 to 2016

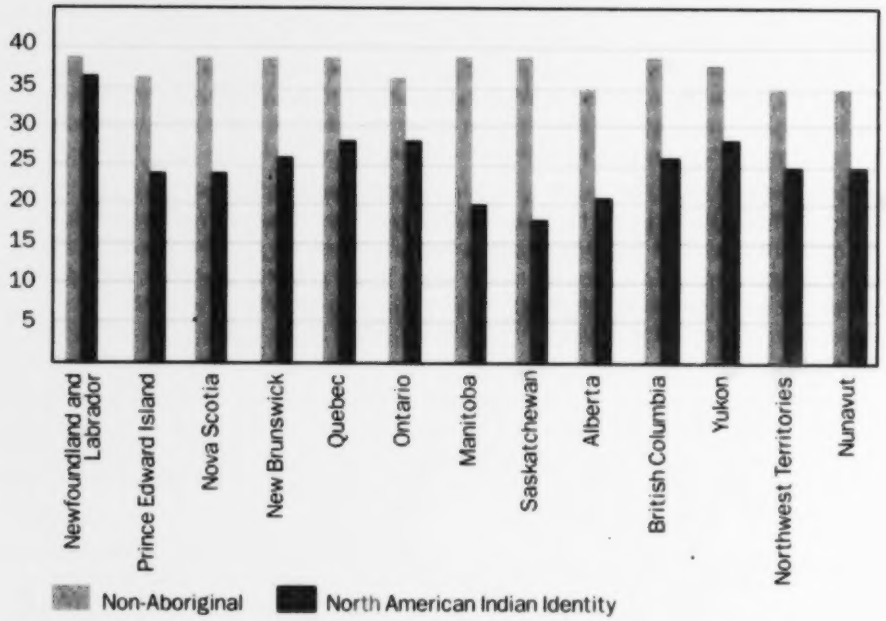


The age structure of the Aboriginal population has a number of important independent effects on the socio-economic conditions faced by Aboriginal people. Only 35% of Aboriginal people are currently in their prime earning years (age 30-65), compared to 47% of non-Aboriginal people. These 35% are outnumbered by the children aged 0-14 that they support, whereas non-Aboriginal people in this age group outnumber the children aged 0-14 more than two to one. Larger Aboriginal families mean that even if Aboriginal workers had employment prospects and incomes equivalent to non-Aboriginal workers, their standards of living would still be lower and their housing more crowded.

There are significant differences in the age structure of the different Aboriginal groups. Of Metis people, 29.1% are aged 0-14, compared to 39.8% of Status Indians and 40.9% of non-Status Indians. By the same token, many more Metis people are in the age 30-65 group: 40%, compared to 32.3% of Status Indians and 32.6% of non-Status Indians. In age distribution, as in many socio-economic variables, Metis occupy a middle position between Status Indians and the non-Aboriginal population.

There is little difference in the age structure of Status populations on or off-reserve. On reserve, 40.4% are under the age of 15; off reserve and in Winnipeg the figure is 39.3% Off-reserve, there are slightly more people aged 30-65, and therefore slightly fewer people aged 15-29 or 65 plus. This is not so much the result of working age people seeking employment off-reserve, as it is due to disproportionate numbers of adult women living off-reserve.

Median Age of the North American Indian Identity Population in Canada, by Province and Territory, 2001



FERTILITY AND BIRTH RATES IN MANITOBA

It is often said that Aboriginal people are now experiencing a "baby boom" similar to the post-war experience of the general population. This is not at all true. The original baby boom originated in a sharp spike in fertility rates (number of births per woman) following the period of depressed fertility during the Depression and Second World War. This produced a demographic bulge of persons born between 1946 and 1964, that distinctly outnumbered older and younger age cohorts. Because of their numbers, these "baby boomers" became the fashion trend setters of their age. Demographically, their outstanding fashion statement was the fact that they themselves had relatively few children, resulting in the "baby bust" of subsequent decades.

The current "population explosion" of Aboriginal children, by contrast, occurs in the context of sharply declining fertility rates among Aboriginal women. Recent analyses of historical trends based on Indian Register data[20] have indicated average national fertility rates for First Nations women have declined from 5.7 births in 1970, to 4.1 in 1975, 3.4 in 1980, 3.2 in 1985, 2.7 in 1990, and 2.55 in 1995.

The fertility rate for Status Indians remains approximately 50% higher than for the general population, and the decline in the fertility rate has been more than offset by increases in the numbers of women in their young child bearing years. This has not resulted in a demographic bulge, but in a birth rate (births per 1,000 population per year) that has stabilized at almost twice that of the non-Aboriginal population. The large numbers of young children, aging into their reproductive years, guarantees that Aboriginal birth rates will remain extremely high in Manitoba for several decades to come, regardless of declining fertility rates.

TEEN PREGNANCY

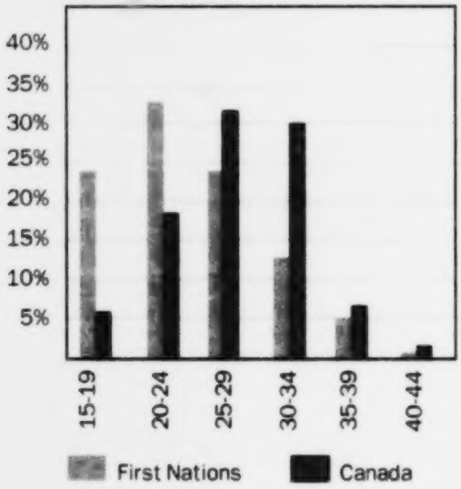
Nationally, Status Indian girls aged 15-19 have a birth rate almost five times that of the general population, and for girls aged 10-14, nine times. As shown on the accompanying chart, the bulk of First Nations births occur to women and girls aged 15-29, while over 60% of births for other Canadians are to women aged 25-34.[21]

Manitoba has the highest rate of teen pregnancy in Canada – 63.2 per 1,000 live births, compared to the national average of 40.2.[22] But rates vary dramatically within Manitoba and are much higher than average for Status Indians and Metis: 45% of unmarried adolescent mothers in Manitoba are Aboriginal, with proportions as high as 75% in the northern Norman/Thompson region and 70% in central Winnipeg.

Between 1980 and 1994, the teen birth rate for on and off-reserve Status Indians in Manitoba dropped from 32.4% of live births to 23.0%, but remains approximately three times the level for other citizens. This fact, more than any other, explains the maintenance of high birth rates in the face of sharp declines in fertility rates for First Nations women. Aboriginal generations are closer together in age. While the First Nations fertility rate (number of children per female) is about 50% higher, the birth rate (annual births per 1000 population) is about 100% higher.

Nearly a quarter of all births in the First Nations population are to teen mothers less than 20 years of age, and 90% of these teen births are to single women. Manitoba Family Services and Housing estimates that approximately 90% of adolescent women who carry their pregnancies to term are keeping their babies. Therefore, almost 20% of First Nations children are currently born into the homes of single parents less than 20 years of age.

Live Births by Age Group, Canada, 1997-99



Teen parenthood is associated with low-income status. The Ontario Health Survey found that 18% of young women aged 16-19 from low-income families had been pregnant in the past five years, compared to 4% of young women from higher-income families. The Canadian Council on Social Development sums it up in this way:

> Young women giving birth in their teens represent a significant risk to their babies and to their own life chances. They often do not have the necessary resources – especially financial resources – to provide a secure and stable environment for their children. And having children while still a teen interrupts the young woman's own development. Young mothers often drop out of school to care for their babies, thus limiting their future options in the labour market. ...Poor teen mothers have poor children and the cycle continues.[23]

CHAPTER 2: Health

The federal government supports the provision of most services on-reserve, though these are increasingly devolved to the Band administration. Federally-funded programs include child and family services, housing, health, education, policing, fire protection, recreation, programs for drug, alcohol and substance abuse, care for seniors, and municipal infrastructure such as sewer and water, administration and recreation buildings. The federal government also supports the cost of post-secondary education and extended health benefits under the Non-Insured Health Benefits Program (NIHB) for Status Indians including off-reserve. Metis and Non-Status people are ineligible for this program. The provincial government provides health services to Aboriginal people as it does for Manitobans in general.

The First Nations and Inuit Health Branch of the department of Health Canada administers federal health programs for registered Indians and maintains a database that, in Manitoba, includes both on and off-reserve Indians. In combination with the Indian Registry list maintained by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and also with surveys undertaken on a periodic basis, these data provide a wealth of information available for research on First Nations health issues. Other sets of information are available for Aboriginal people living off-reserve, but little for Aboriginal or Status people both on and off-reserve, or for Metis people. Thus the presentation of data in this chapter will reflect the form of available data, rather than the categories used elsewhere in this publication.

Age-standardized data show First Nations persons at increased risk of developing chronic health conditions, and these conditions occur much more frequently than in the Canadian population as a whole:[1]

Diagnosis	First Nation / Canadian Ratio
Arthritis / Rheumatism	1.7
Hypertension	2.7
Heart Problems	2.9
Diabetes (Males)	3.7
Diabetes (Females)	5.3
Tuberculosis	6.5
HIV	10.7

Overall, in 2000-2001, 22.4% of Manitoba Aboriginal people (off-reserve only, aged 12+) rated their health as only fair or poor, compared with 12.5% of the total population. Less than half of Aboriginal people rated their health as very good or excellent (46.8%), compared with 60.4% of the total population. In this regard, it should also be noted that Aboriginal people are on average considerably younger, and would therefore be expected to enjoy better overall health.[2]

Cigarette smoking and "binge drinking" are more prevalent among Manitoba Aboriginal people, contributing to a variety of health problems. Off-reserve, 55.7% of Aboriginal people aged 12+ report smoking on a daily or occasional basis compared to 25% of the general population. More than half, 53.8%, started smoking at age 14 or under, compared to 37.3% of the general population. Not surprisingly, 53.5% of Aboriginal people reported being exposed to second-hand smoke on most days within the past month, as compared to 28.5% of the total population. Of Aboriginal people, 65.2% reported drinking five or more drinks at some point within the last year, and 29.6% reported doing so twelve or more times. Among the total population, the figures were 46.5% and 22.9% respectively.[3]

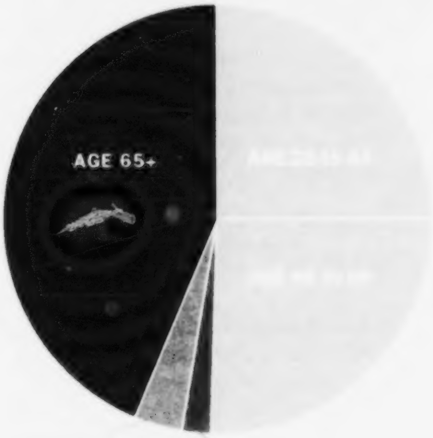
Another factor impacting the overall health status of this population is weight relative to height (body mass index). In 2000-2001, 53.1% of Manitoba Aboriginal off-reserve could be classified as "overweight" by Canadian standards compared to 35.7% of all Manitobans, and 37% were "obese" by international standards compared to 18% of all Manitobans.[4] This would be linked primarily to diet and physical activity, which are in turn linked to the historical decline of traditional diets and food gathering practices.

Overweight or obesity is a major and growing health problem for all Canadians (and more so for the Aboriginal population) as factors into a number of preventable chronic conditions, including Type 2 diabetes, high blood pressure and cardiovascular disease, stroke, gallbladder disease, some forms of cancer, and osteoarthritis. In 1998-1999, children from low-income families were 1.5 times more likely to be obese. Nutritious foods often cost more than those high in fat, sugar or starch, and geographic isolation further limits the supply for many Aboriginal familes.[5]

MORTALITY

Life expectancy of Status Indians nationally continues to lag behind the general population by 7.4 years for males and 5.2 years for females. The size of these gaps have, however, narrowed considerably from 1980, when they were estimated at 10.9 and 11.0 years respectively.[6] In Manitoba, the gap between the life expectancy of Status Indians and other Manitobans is somewhat higher – about eight years for both males and females. The Status Indian population has twice the rate of premature deaths (under age 75) of other Manitobans.[7]

Leading Causes of Deaths in First Nations, by Age Group. 1999



AGE 1-9
Number of Deaths: 34

Fire and Flames	26%
Motor Vehicle Accidents	24%
Other Injuries	24%
Other	26%

AGE 10-19
Number of Deaths: 80

Suicide and Self Inflicted Injury	38%
Motor Vehicle Accidents	30%
Drowning and Submersion	10%
Other	23%

AGE 20-44
Number of Deaths: 367

Suicide and Self Inflicted Injury	23%
Motor Vehicle Accidents	15%
Homicide	7%
Accidental Poisoning by Drugs	6%
Drowning and Submersion	5%
Other	43%

AGE 45-65
Number of Deaths: 575

Ischemic Heart Disease	17%
Lung Cancer	7%
Motor Vehicle Accidents	5%
Diabetes	4%
Liver Disease and Cirrhosis	4%
Other	64%

AGE 65+
Number of Deaths: 575

Ischemic Heart Disease	20%
Other forms of Heart Disease	9%
Cerebrovascular Disease	7%
Lung Cancer	7%
Pneumonia and Influenza	6%
Other	50%

Source: Health Canada, First Nations Inuit Health Branch in-house statistics.

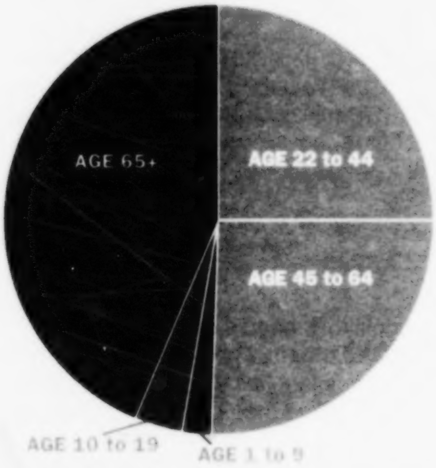
Another factor impacting the overall health status of this population is weight relative to height (body mass index). In 2000-2001, 53.1% of Manitoba Aboriginal off-reserve could be classified as "overweight" by Canadian standards compared to 35.7% of all Manitobans, and 37% were "obese" by international standards compared to 18% of all Manitobans.[4] This would be linked primarily to diet and physical activity, which are in turn linked to the historical decline of traditional diets and food gathering practices.

Overweight or obesity is a major and growing health problem for all Canadians (and more so for the Aboriginal population) as factors into a number of preventable chronic conditions, including Type 2 diabetes, high blood pressure and cardiovascular disease, stroke, gallbladder disease, some forms of cancer, and osteoarthritis. In 1998-1999, children from low-income families were 1.5 times more likely to be obese. Nutritious foods often cost more than those high in fat, sugar or starch, and geographic isolation further limits the supply for many Aboriginal familes.[5]

MORTALITY

Life expectancy of Status Indians nationally continues to lag behind the general population by 7.4 years for males and 5.2 years for females. The size of these gaps have, however, narrowed considerably from 1980, when they were estimated at 10.9 and 11.0 years respectively.[6] In Manitoba, the gap between the life expectancy of Status Indians and other Manitobans is somewhat higher – about eight years for both males and females. The Status Indian population has twice the rate of premature deaths (under age 75) of other Manitobans.[7]

Leading Causes of Deaths in First Nations, by Age Group. 1999



AGE 1-9
Number of Deaths: 34

Fire and Flames	26%
Motor Vehicle Accidents	24%
Other Injuries	24%
Other	26%

AGE 10-19
Number of Deaths: 80

Suicide and Self Inflicted Injury	38%
Motor Vehicle Accidents	30%
Drowning and Submersion	10%
Other	23%

AGE 20-44
Number of Deaths: 367

Suicide and Self Inflicted Injury	23%
Motor Vehicle Accidents	15%
Homicide	7%
Accidental Poisoning by Drugs	6%
Drowning and Submersion	5%
Other	43%

AGE 45-65
Number of Deaths: 575

Ischemic Heart Disease	17%
Lung Cancer	7%
Motor Vehicle Accidents	5%
Diabetes	4%
Liver Disease and Cirrhosis	4%
Other	64%

AGE 65+
Number of Deaths: 575

Ischemic Heart Disease	20%
Other forms of Heart Disease	9%
Cerebrovascular Disease	7%
Lung Cancer	7%
Pneumonia and Influenza	6%
Other	50%

Source: Health Canada, First Nations Inuit Health Branch in-house statistics.

The gap in life expectancy varies widely among Aboriginal groups and locations. On-reserve, it is more than 10 years, while among urban Aboriginal people it is less than two years. On-reserve, the 1990 life expectancy at birth was 62 years for males and 69.6 years for females. For Status Indians in urban areas it was 72 and 79 years respectively, compared to 73.9 and 80.7 for the total population.

> According to Health Canada:
> As of 1999, crude mortality rates in the First Nations had decreased for the leading causes of death – injury and poisoning, circulatory diseases, cancer and respiratory disease – when compared to the period 1991 to 1993. Even so, for all but cancer, the age-standardized First Nations rates exceeded the comparable Canadian rates.[8]

The relative mortality risk for First Nations people varies by age group. The greatest disparities are in the one to four-year-old group, among whom the First Nations mortality rate was four times the Canadian average in 1993. This is followed by age groups 15-39 (three times), and 5-15 (two and-a-half times). Generally, the relative mortality risk decreases with age until by the age of 65+ it approaches the non-Aboriginal risk level. Relatively few First Nations people are in that age group.[9]

Health Canada data shows that the main risk factors for mortality among First Nations people vary by age group, and also the relative importance of risk factors such as fire for younger children, and suicide for older children and young adults.[10]

INFANT MORTALITY

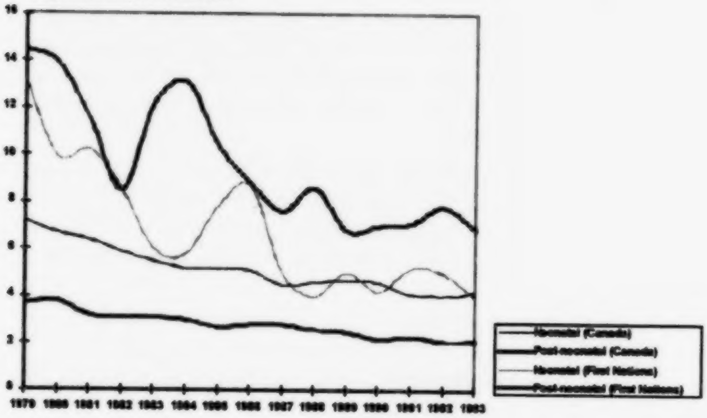
Between 1979 and 1999, the national mortality rate for Status Indian infants aged 0-1 decreased from 27.6 deaths per 1,000 live births, or two and-a-half times the Canadian rate, to 8.0 deaths or just under one and-a-half times the Canadian rate.[11]

However, infant mortality rates are often broken down into two smaller time intervals: neonatal (birth to 28 days) and post-neonatal (28 days to one year). Health Canada notes:

> Neonatal mortality rates in general tend to reflect access to services and quality of health care, as well as events during the prenatal period and during and immediately after labour. In contrast, the post-neonatal rate tends to be more sensitive to socioeconomic and environmental factors that may influence the survival of infants.[12]

Nationally, the rate of neonatal death among First Nations has decreased markedly and is now close to the national average. By contrast, the First Nations post-neonatal mortality rate, while it has shown some improvement, remains about triple the national rate:

National Infant Mortality Rates: Canadian and First Nations Populations, 1979-1993

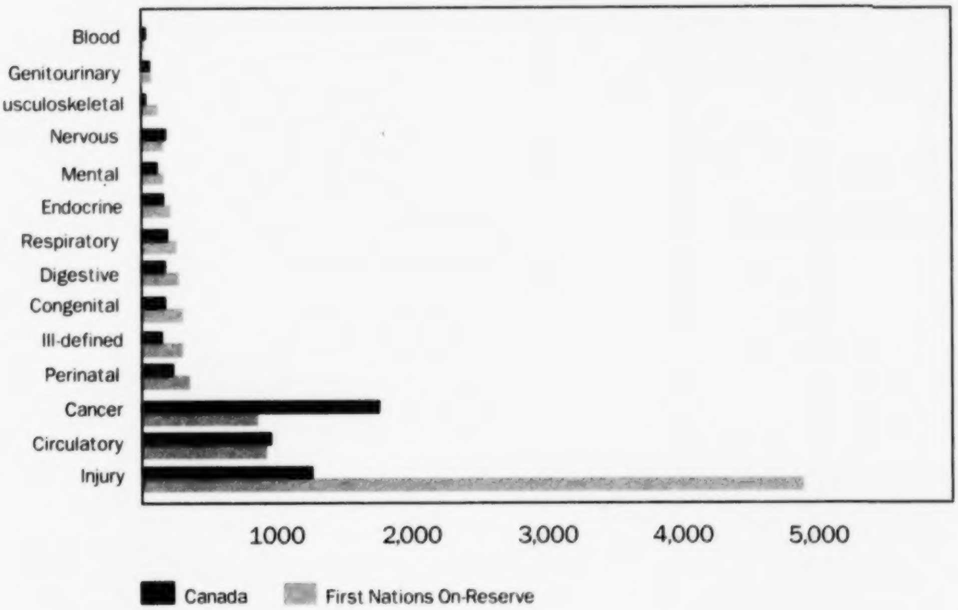


Significantly, the post-neonatal mortality rate for Canadians in general is lower than the neonatal rate, meaning most infant deaths occur before 28 days. For First Nations, most infant deaths occur after 28 days, when infants and their mothers have left the urban hospital and re-entered the home community and the home. The degree to which the increased infant mortality rate after 28 days is due to access to health services in often-isolated home communities, or to conditions in the home, is not known.

INJURY AND POISONING

As illustrated by the following chart,[13] injury and poisoning are by far the leading cause of early mortality (potential years of life lost) among First Nations people nationally:

Potential Years of Life Lost (PYLL) by Cause of Death, First Nations On Reserve and Canada, 1999



The medical category "Injury and Poisoning" essentially includes all causes of death besides illness. For First Nations people from one to 45 years of age, injury and poisoning are by far the main causes of death. Motor vehicle accidents and suicides are the main causes of death by injury and poisoning in Manitoba, as in all provinces. Other causes of death in this category are accidental poisoning and overdoses, drowning, fire, homicide, suffocation, exposure, falls, firearms, industrial accidents and aircraft crashes.

The injury and poisoning death rate for First Nations is 3.8 times the national rate, and there has been little change in this ratio since the mid-1980s. However, Health Canada reports an overall decrease in First Nations injury and poisoning rates during this period – suicide and overdoses are the only causes of injury and poisoning deaths not showing substantial improvements.

Nationally, Status Indian deaths due to injury and poisonings are more than twice as common among men as among women (1,367 compared to 579 during the period 1991 - 1993). Of these deaths, suicides claimed 26% of men compared to 21% of women, giving men a suicide rate three times that of women. Men were far more likely to die of every injury/poisoning cause, except accidental poisoning/overdoses for which male/female rates were about equal.

According to Provincial health data, "injury deaths occur most frequently in northern Manitoba, at medium frequency in southern rural Manitoba, and least frequently in Winnipeg ...Northern children are hospitalized as a result of injury significantly more frequently (about 225/10,000) than the Manitoba average of about 75/10,000."[14]

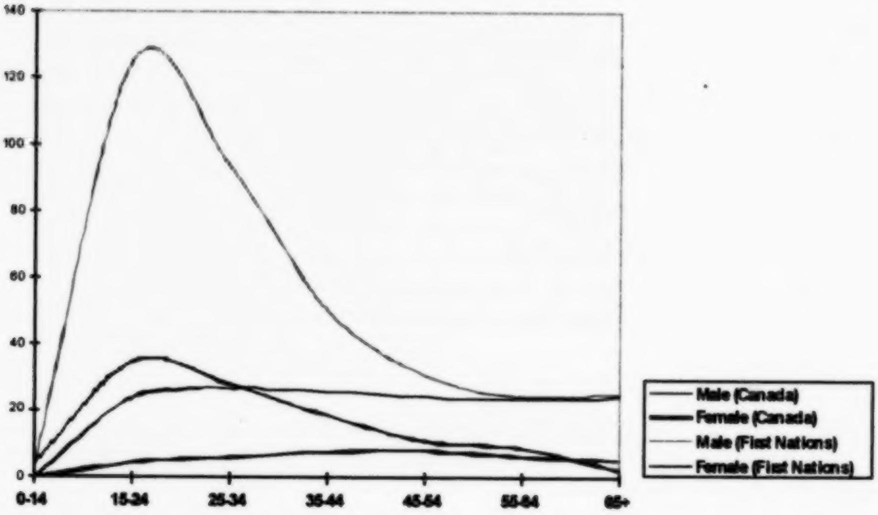
During the period from 1992-1999, the vehicular fatalities rate among Status Indians in Manitoba was 18.2/100,000, about twice the rate for all Manitobans (9.7). First Nations fatality rates were highest among ages 15-19, 20-24 and 25-34, approximately 30/100,000 in each age group. Status Indians during the same period were more than four times as likely to die due to unintentional drowning, with the highest rates found among children aged one-four (21/100,000) and adults aged 25-34 (15.8). Status Indians were also five times more likely to die of fire and burn injuries, with the highest rates found among ages 55-64.[15]

Manitoba has a First Nations rate of death by homicide approximately twice the national average. In a 1998 study done by the Winnipeg Free Press of 158 homicides committed in Manitoba from 1992 to 1996, fully 60% of the victims were found to be Aboriginal, including 73% of victims in rural Manitoba. The homicide risk for Aboriginal Manitobans was calculated to be 30 times that of the population as a whole.

SUICIDE

National First Nations suicide rates have remained fairly constant since 1980. Suicide rates differ between First Nations and non-First Nations populations more than any other cause of death. The differences are most extreme in the younger age groups, and decline sharply in older age groups. By age 60+ there is no significant difference. However, as we have noted, there are few First Nations people in this older age group.

National Suicide Rates: Canadian and First Nations Populations, 1989-1993



Suicide is endemic among First Nations youth, especially males. By contrast, non-Aboriginal youth are no more likely to commit suicide than any other age group. Nationally in 1989-93, the death rate by suicide for male youth aged 15-24 was 126 per 100,000 annually, a rate more than five times the national rate for all males in this age group. The comparable rate for First Nations females was 35/100,000, far less than among First Nations men, but over seven times the national rate for females of this age. From 1980 to the mid 1990's, First Nations suicide rates increased by 45% among children aged 14 and under, an age group for whom suicide is virtually unrecorded among non-Aboriginal Canadians. More recent figures are unavailable "because of limited data for detailed age comparisons.[16]

In Manitoba during the period 1992-99, there were 61 suicides among First Nations people, of whom 49 were males. The highest suicide rate was among males aged 15-19 – sixteen suicides or 96/100,000 population. This rate was 5.5 times that of other male Manitobans in this age group.[17]

Hangings remain the most commonly reported suicide method for ages 15-24 and 25-44, though firearms are increasingly used for ages 15-24, and both firearms and drug overdoses for ages 25-44. Firearms are more frequently used by males, and drug overdoses by females. Among all First Nations suicides reported in Manitoba from 1989 to 1993, 58% were by hanging, 29% by firearms, 8% by drug overdose, and 6% by other means.

A special report on suicide produced for the 1996 Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) linked youth suicide, mental illness, and drug and alcohol abuse to cultural alienation or stress. This is caused by:

> ...loss of identity, loss of control over living conditions, restricted economic opportunity, suppression of beliefs and spirituality, weakening of social institutions, displacement of political institutions, pervasive breakdown of cultural values and diminished esteem, discrimination and institutional racism and their internalized effects, and voluntary or involuntary adoption of elements of an external culture and loss of identity.[18]

A 1998 British Columbia study found that on-reserve suicide rates were linked to the following factors:

- Community self-government (the greatest protective factor);
- Control over traditional land base;
- Presence of band-controlled schools;
- Community control over health services;
- Presence of cultural facilities; and
- Control over police and fire services.

Suicide rates varied from an average 137.5 per 100,000 in communities where none of these factors were present, to zero suicides in those communities where all six factors were present.[19]

MORBIDITY

Nationally, the leading causes of death for First Nations people, besides injury and poisoning, are diseases of the circulatory and respiratory systems, ranked second and fourth respectively, and neoplasms (cancer), rated third. These rankings have remained the same since the late 1970's. Death rates for circulatory and respiratory diseases have declined moderately during this time period (by 11.1% and 6.5% respectively), but have remained above Canadian rates.

Cancer rates for First Nations people have generally been less than national averages, but are increasing. "The neoplasm death rate in First Nations at 182 deaths per 100,000 (in 1993) is approaching the Canadian rate of 193 deaths per 100,000. From 1984-1988, the Canadian rate was 1.4 times higher."[20]

As noted, mortality by age-related causes has been kept down by the relatively young Aboriginal population. However, with the age 65+ group expected to double to 7% of the Aboriginal population by 2015, the prevalence of these diseases will also rise, as will the associated health care costs. This is especially true where incidence rates are also increasing, as in the case of some cancers and, especially, diabetes.

DIABETES

Diabetes is "a chronic disease with a multifactorial ætiology. To date, epidemiological evidence of varying consistency has implicated heredity, obesity, physical activity, diet, and metabolic factors as risk factors."[21] Apparently unknown in the Aboriginal community before World War II, diabetes has been recognized as a serious emerging health problem since the 1970's, and has now reached epidemic proportions.

Diabetes in Aboriginal people is largely Type 2, also known as non-insulin-dependent or adult onset diabetes. Complications associated with diabetes can include kidney failure, cardiovascular disease, blindness, lower limb amputation, increased susceptibility to infection, and increased risk of tuberculosis reactivation.

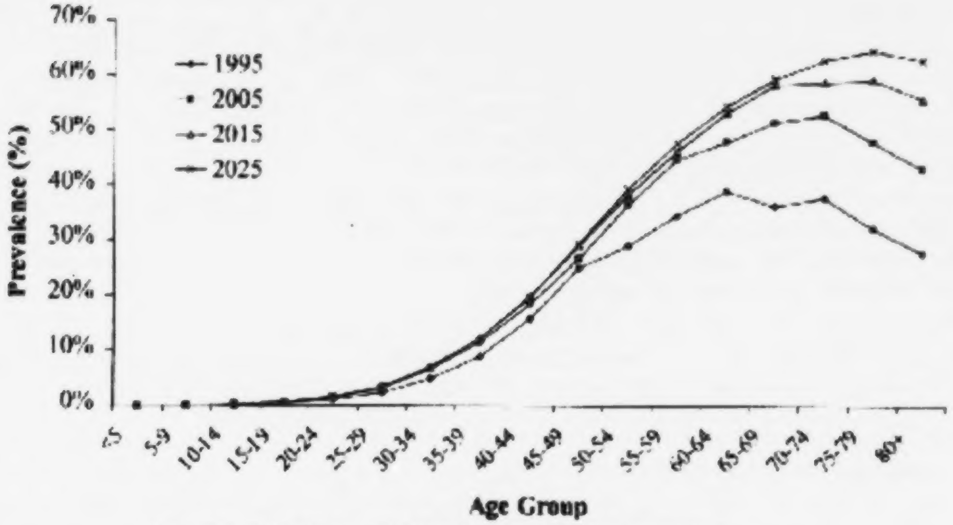
The incidence and prevalence of diabetes among the Aboriginal population continues to increase, particularly among Status and non-Status Indians. The 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) found that, nationally, 8.3% of off-reserve North American Indians stated that they had been diagnosed with the disease, up sharply from 5.3% in the 1991 APS. The Metis rate, similar in 1991, increased more moderately, from 5.5% to 5.9%. By comparison, the Canadian age-standardized rate was 2.3%.[22]

In 2001, diabetes rates among First Nations people were 4.2 times higher than among other Manitobans (18.9% versus 4.5%), up from three times higher in 1994, and the amputation rate related to diabetes complications was fully 16 times higher (3.1 versus. 0.19 per 1,000 ages 20-79).[23] First Nations men are currently twice as likely to die from diabetes complications as their non-Aboriginal counterparts, and First Nations women four times as likely.[24]

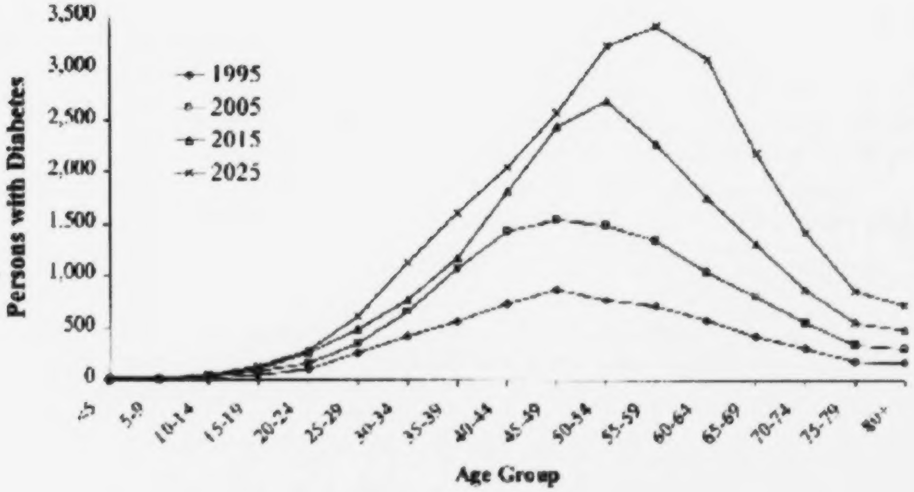
Status Indians are likely to develop diabetes at an earlier age, and within each age group, females are far more likely than males to be diabetic. A disturbing recent trend has been the diagnosis of Type 2 diabetes in Status children under age 14. By 1997, 58 cases had been reported in Manitoba, mostly among girls. An unknown number of cases have gone undetected or misdiagnosed, leading to increased chances of complications in the future.[25] Type 2 diabetes is a new disease among children, unrecorded before about 1980.

The prevalence of diabetes is expected to continue to increase in the Manitoba population, and more rapidly in the Aboriginal population. This will contribute to steeply escalating health care costs. Data from a 1998 Manitoba Health report "Forecasting the Coming Storm" indicates a cost increase in constant 1995 dollars on the order of 130% over 30 years for all Manitobans, and a staggering 330% for Status Indians.[26]

Age specific Prevalence of Diabetes, Status Indians: 1995, 2005, 2015, 2025



Age Distribution of Manitoba Status Persons with Diabetes, 1995 to 2025



Source: J.F. Blanchard et al, "Forecasting the Coming Storm," September 1998.

The prevalence of diabetes among older Status people is projected to increase sharply, to rates of 50% to 60% for ages 60+ by 2015. The growing burden of the disease, however, will be in the form of accumulating numbers of middle-aged and younger diabetics, because of earlier relative onset and the younger age structure of the First Nations population. The total number of Status Indian diabetics is projected to rise to approximately 15,000 by 2015 and 20,000 by 2025.[27]

Diabetes places a much larger burden of illness upon Aboriginal people, due to its prevalence and younger age of onset. The 1997 First Nations Regional Health Survey found that 53% of diabetes sufferers on-reserve in Manitoba were aged 40 or less, and 65% aged 45 or less. "In the general population, most people with diabetes are over 60 years." [28] Of course, there are relatively few First Nations people over age 60.

It is also the case that two-thirds of this burden of illness falls upon women (and girls); among the general population the diabetes rate is higher for males than females. Of First Nations women with diabetes, 30% were first diagnosed while pregnant. In a study based in the Sioux Lookout area of northwestern Ontario, it was found that 70% of First Nations women diagnosed with gestational diabetes mellitus went on to develop overt diabetes within three years. In the general population "conversion rates" range from 25% to 60% over a decade or longer.[29]

CARDIOVASCULAR DISEASE

High blood pressure is a serious and growing problem among the Aboriginal community. Of on-reserve respondents in the 1997 Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, 24% reported a diagnosis of high blood pressure. This is higher than the national First Nations/Inuit rate of 19%, and higher still than the results reported from the 1991 Aboriginal People's Survey at 14%. Seventy per cent of respondents had had their blood pressure checked within the past year.[30]

Off-reserve, 12% of the Aboriginal population reported high blood pressure in 2000-2001, compared to 8.7% of all Manitobans.[31]

Hypertension occurs frequently in individuals with diabetes, and comorbidity between these two conditions leads to sharply increased risk of heart disease. A study released in June 2000 found that heart disease hospitalizations among on-reserve people in northern Ontario had more than doubled from 76 per 10,000 hospital admissions in 1984 to 186 per 10,000 in 1995. The researchers linked the increase entirely to increased diabetes rates. Among Aboriginal people in Manitoba, 60% of hospitalizations for heart disease involve patients with diabetes.[32] Of First Nations adults with diabetes, 43% also report hypertension, compared to only 10% of adults without diabetes.[33]

RESPIRATORY DISEASES

At the time of the Aboriginal Peoples Survey of 2001, 15.9% of adult Aboriginal respondents in Manitoba indicated that they had been diagnosed with one or more respiratory diseases, including asthma, chronic bronchitis, and emphysema.[34] However, the gap between Status Indians and the Canadian population for respiratory disease rates has decreased, from 1.8 times during the period 1991-1993 to 1.2 times in 1999.[35]

HUMAN IMMUNODEFICIENCY VIRUS/ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME (HIV/AIDS)

Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) disease "is a preventable, chronic and progressive condition, of which Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is the final phase. AIDS is characterized by the appearance of opportunistic infections and other life-threatening conditions that take advantage of an immune system weakened by HIV. HIV is transmitted primarily by unprotected sexual intercourse and shared needles and/or syringes."[36]

Nationally, the Aboriginal proportion of the total AIDS diagnoses increased from 1% in 1990 to over 10% in 1999, before falling back to 7.2% in 2001.[37] Aboriginal people are over-represented in groups at high risk for HIV infection, including intravenous drug users, sex trade workers, and inmates. A 1999 report indicated that 30% of recent HIV cases in Manitoba are Aboriginal, and that this proportion is increasing. Similar statistics have been reported in Saskatchewan (30%), Alberta (26%) and British Columbia (15%).[38]

National figures complied by the Laboratory Centre for Disease Control suggest that injection drug use accounts for a higher proportion of HIV infection in Aboriginal people than in the general population: 18% versus 3% for men, and 54% versus 17% for women. Women account for higher numbers of HIV cases among the Aboriginal population, 15% versus 7.0% among non-Aboriginal cases.[39]

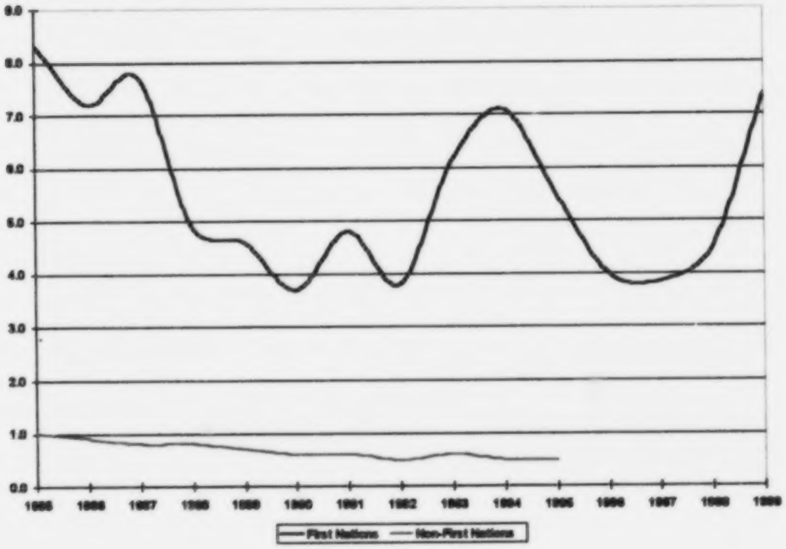
Because of the over-representation of Aboriginal people in these high-risk groups, the incidence of Hepatitis C is also much higher – as much as 8.4 times higher according to studies undertaken in 1999 and 2000.[40]

TUBERCULOSIS

Tuberculosis took a devastating toll in many Aboriginal communities prior to World War II. Its incidence has dropped steadily and dramatically to the current national First Nations rate of about five cases per 10,000.

However, this is still about seven times the non-Aboriginal rate. This is partly attributed to crowded housing and inadequate sewage control on some reserves, and partly to the historically high tuberculosis rates which means many older people still carry the bacteria in their bodies. "As carriers, they are subject to re-infection and if not treated immediately may infect those around them." A Tuberculosis Elimination Plan established by Health Canada seeks to reduce First Nations Tuberculosis rates to less than one per 100,000 by the year 2010.[41]

New and Reactivated Tuberculosis Cases in Manitoba: 1985 - 1999



Outbreaks of tuberculosis continue to occur in clusters in northern First Nations, such as the dozen cases in isolated Gods Lake Narrows in 1998. There were no cases the following year. Ten per cent of Manitoba cases in 1998 were found in children 14 and under.[42]

Nationally, First Nations tuberculosis rates are closely linked with housing density, climbing rapidly in communities where the number of persons per room equals or exceeds 1.0.[43]

CHILDREN'S HEALTH

At the time of the Aboriginal Peoples Survey in 2001, 42% of children in Winnipeg and 39.1% off-reserve in Manitoba as a whole had been diagnosed with one more medical conditions. Most common were asthma (15.5%, 12.7%), and allergies (14.2%, 13.4%), followed by ear infections or problems (8.4%, 8.1%) and learning disabilities (8.0%, 6.3%).[44] The increased prevalence of these conditions in Winnipeg may indicate some combination of more frequent access to health care services and/or people moving to Winnipeg because of the need for medical services.

On First Nations in Manitoba, 23% of children aged 0-14 were described by their parents as having a health status only "fair" or "poor" in 1997. This is in comparison with 16% of First Nations/Inuit children nationally, and with only 2% of Canadian children involved in the National Longitudinal Study of Children and Youth, conducted during the same period.

The most frequently reported chronic illnesses were, again, allergies and asthma. These conditions are not significantly more common than among First Nations children than among Canadian children in general. Bronchitis and ear infections, on the other hand, were more frequently noted among First Nations children, both provincially and nationally.[45]

Aboriginal children, particularly in isolated communities, are at increased risk of contracting a number of infectious diseases. A recent study of shigellosis, a highly infectious diarrheal disease, found rates among First Nations children 29 times the rate for other Manitoba children. This was linked to sewage and waste disposal inadequacies, as well as poverty and crowded housing. There are also higher rates of respiratory infections such as bronchitis and pneumonia, where environmental factors such as tobacco and wood smoke may also play a part. Lowered resistance to infectious disease has been attributed partly to Vitamin A deficiency in northern areas.[46]

Breastfeeding initiation rates for Status infants are about two-thirds that of other infants in Manitoba (57% versus 81%), a concern in that breastfeeding has been associated with decreased respiratory and gastrointestinal infection, enhanced cognitive development, and reduced risk of type II diabetes in adolescents and adults.[47] In addition, Status Indian children are immunized at rates considerably lower than other Manitobans: 62% versus 89% at one year and 45% versus 77% at two years.[48]

Early childhood tooth decay has been called "the greatest unmet health care need of children, particularly those who live in poverty."[49] It appears predominantly among children whose mothers had poor diets during pregnancy, and children who have not been weaned off baby bottle early enough, and are left with bottles to sip on during the day or night, containing milk, fruit juices, or sugary drinks like Kool-Aid. "Each year close to 1,000 Manitoba children, mostly Aboriginal, have the decaying stumps of their rotten baby teeth pulled out or capped in oral surgeries," with waiting periods of up to 15 months.

USE OF MEDICAL SERVICES

The Canadian Community Health Survey conducted off-reserve in 2000-01 found that, of persons aged 12 or over, slightly fewer Aboriginal people had consulted with a medical doctor or a dentist within the previous year –77.6% compared to 79.8% in the case of doctors, and 45.4% compared to 58.4% in the case of dentists.[50]

However, First Nations people report more physician contacts per year, provincially 5.8 visits compared to 4.7 for all other Manitobans. The variance is greatest in urban areas: First Nations residents of Winnipeg and Brandon report 1.6 times as many visits as other residents.[51] On the other hand, they are only about two-thirds as likely to visit medical specialists as other Manitobans in any given year, and this is the case even in Winnipeg where the accessibility of specialists is the same for both groups.[52]

By contrast, Status Indians hospitalization rates are more than double those of other Manitobans – 348 versus 156 per thousand per year.[53] In addition, Aboriginal people were twice as likely to report having consulted a health professional about mental health issues – 13.0% versus 6.4%. Mental health professionals include family doctors or general practitioners, psychiatrists, psychologists, nurses, social workers and counsellors. [54]

During the period from 1992 to 2001, Status Indians were over three times as likely to be hospitalized due to injuries than other Manitobans – 3,178 versus. 1,054 per 100,000 population. The leading cause for both groups was unintentional falls, but assault was the second most frequent reason among Status Indians, and fourth among other Manitobans. In fact, assault was the number one reason for hospitalization of Status males, while self-inflicted injuries was the number one reason among Status females – falls become the number one reason only when both sexes are included. First Nations males were 13.5 times as likely to be hospitalized due to assault than other Manitobans, with the highest rate among ages 20-24. Status Indians were eight times as likely to be hospitalized due to self-inflicted injury, with the highest rate among females aged 15-19.[55]

Inadequacies have been identified in the availability of outpatient health on-reserve. Having completed surveys in 1997 of 1,948 adults and 870 children in 17 representative First Nations communities, the final report of the Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey found that only 35% of people interviewed indicated that there were sufficient nurses at the community level, 25% reported enough dentists and 13% enough doctors. Eighty-eight per cent found the availability of language interpreters inadequate and, not surprising, 94% the availability of medical specialists:

> In general, most ancillary services such as sexual abuse counseling, mental health services, nutritional counselling, home support, daycare, and substance abuse counselling were regarded as very inadequate by the vast majority of people interviewed. In a few areas such as medical transport, approximately half the people interviewed felt this particular service was adequate.[56]

METIS HEALTH ISSUES

As noted, data-based health research specific to Metis people in Manitoba or Canada is close to non-existent. Two reasons are: (1) the absence of a Metis registry or list of any sort; and (2) the absence of any bureaucracy or organization charged to deliver, oversee, or fund health services specifically directed to Metis people. By contrast, very extensive data regarding health indicators for First Nations individuals and collectivities are collected, compiled, and made available to researchers.

A pilot study undertaken by Manitoba Health and CancerCare Manitoba in 2002 linked their databases with 2,177 members of the Manitoba Metis Federation, mostly from the Interlake district. These rural Metis, like other off-reserve Aboriginal people, consult with physicians a little less often than the general population, but are hospitalized at a rate 1.3 times that of the general population for males, and 1.5 for females.[57] This contrasts with First Nations hospital rates approximately twice those of the general population; however, data from this source must be treated with some caution.

Incidence and prevalence of some conditions appear to be less than the average among these Metis – such as cancer among males, who between 1995-1997 were diagnosed at a rate approximately one third that of male Manitobans of the same age group. By contrast, diabetes prevalence rates were 1.5 times higher for males and two times higher for females. If we recall that prevalence rates among Status Indians were 3.7 times higher for men and 5.3 times higher for women, it would appear that the prevalence of diabetes among this rural Metis group fell roughly between that of Status Indians and the non-Aboriginal population, perhaps more resembling the latter. However, diabetes is epidemic among older Metis aged 65-74, with 37% of males and 40% of females having the disease.[58]

Further information can be found on Metis health issues based on self-reported health data from surveys such as the Aboriginal Peoples Survey. The 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey collected self-reported health data from Metis-identity and other Aboriginal people, and information from this source provides a basis for broad comparisons between the Aboriginal groups. A similar survey was conducted in 1991.

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey included a question asking whether the respondent's "special medical needs" were or were not covered by the "medicare system." As noted, Metis are ineligible for benefits under the federal Non-Insured Health Benefits Program (NIHB), which covers Inuit and Status Indians, on or off-reserve. Only 2% of Status Indians resident on-reserve reported inadequate health insurance coverage, and 7% off-reserve. By contrast, 14% of Winnipeg Metis and 28% of Metis outside Winnipeg reported inadequate coverage. That is, Metis people in Manitoba were on average 11 times more likely than Status Indians on reserve to incur (or refrain from incurring) medical expenses not covered by government benefits.[59]

DISABILITIES

Disabilities refer to difficulties experienced in performing an activity in a manner or within the range considered normal for human beings. Types of disability include limitations in mobility, agility, hearing, seeing, speaking, and limitations imposed by a learning disability or mental illness.

According to 1996 Census data,[60] 10.6% of Manitobans of all ages reported a long-term disability. The percentages for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Manitobans were similar: 10.2% and 10.7% respectively. However, as in the case of mortality and many other health statistics, the relatively low Aboriginal percentage is because of the younger.Aboriginal population. The likelihood of experiencing a disability increases with age.

In every age group, Aboriginal people were more likely than non-Aboriginal people to report a disability – usually between 1.5 to 2 times as likely. Metis people in particular reported high rates of disabilities:

PERCENT REPORTING LONG-TERM DISABILITIES: 1996 CENSUS

Age Group	Non-Aboriginal	Registered Indians	Metis
0-14	2.8	5.1	4.6
15-19	3.9	5.3	6.1
30-64	9.8	14.8	17.2
65+	34.4	50.6	46.5

Aboriginal people within any specific age group are more likely than other Canadians to have hearing, sight and/or speech difficulties. Mobility disabilities occur at similar rates for both populations.[61]

Among First Nations people under age 65, disability rates are far higher off-reserve than on, and highest of all in Winnipeg. This is presumably because of better access to health care services making persons with disabilities more likely to migrate to urban centres.[62] In Winnipeg, this may lead to the impression that First Nations disability rates are much higher than non-Aboriginal rates. In fact, 9.4% of all registered Indians in Manitoba report a disability, compared to 10.7% of non-Aboriginal people, again because of the younger age profile.

The numbers of disabled Aboriginal people in the working age population will grow substantially in coming years as the population ages, particularly because of the increasing prevalence and earlier onset of Type 2 Diabetes. Already, 20% of Status Indians in Winnipeg aged 30-64 report a long-term disability.

Across Manitoba, 13,015 Aboriginal people reported a disability on the 1996 Census. Of these, 7,630 were Status Indians, 4,605 Metis, and 710 Non-Status or other Aboriginal. Only 3,640 disabled Aboriginal people normally resided on-reserve, or 28%. 9,330 lived off-reserve, including 5,280 in Winnipeg.[63]

FETAL ALCOHOL SYNDROME/FETAL ALCOHOL EFFECTS (FAS/FAE)

Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS), and the related condition of Fetal Alcohol Effects (FAE), consists of neurological impairments that result in delayed growth, intellectual and behavioural disabilities, and in the worst cases (FAS) facial abnormalities. The danger is greatest during the first trimester, before women often realize they are pregnant. It has been estimated by the Canadian Centre for Substance Abuse that the lifetime cost to society of one FAS child is as much as $1.4 million.[64]

In February 1997, results were announced of a study of 179 children at one on-reserve Manitoba school. The researchers reported that 11 children were found to be diagnosable as FAS and another six as FAE, from which it was estimated that almost 10% of the students had features of alcohol-related damage. If so, this would be 50 times the world and Canada-wide rate of about 0.2%.[65]

However, the 1999 National Report of the First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey cautions that:

> Although a few case studies suggest that FAS is more common among Canadian Native children than non-native children, there is yet no good evidence to support this conclusion. For instance, researchers have studied FAS in Native communities without including a non-native comparison group. When a comparison group has been included, it is not clear that criteria for FAS have been applied consistently to both groups. To date, a valid comparison of the prevalent rates of FAS for Natives and non-Natives has not been carried out.[66]

Interestingly, researchers for the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY, 1994-95) found that, of the 17.1% of mothers who had consumed any amount of alcohol during their pregnancy, most were older (age 35-39), and more affluent and highly educated than average – a profile hardly resembling Aboriginal mothers. The NLSCY found no correlation between alcohol use during pregnancy and post-natal complications, though its sampling method was not targeted to capture FAS/FAE sufferers.[67]

As of 2000, only 20 children in the entire Winnipeg School Division had been "diagnosed conclusively" with FAS or FAE. However, school officials claim "there are many more who haven't been diagnosed who suffer the same learning disabilities."68 Apparently, more research is required before the extent and impact of FAS/FAE can be understood.

CHAPTER 3: CHILD CARE AND DEVELOPMENT

EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT

Researchers are increasingly focusing upon the effects of the environment and life experiences in the early childhood years, especially ages 0-3, on long-term life outcomes. The way that children are cared for in these years "influences problem solving, language acquisition, coping skills and productivity for the rest of their lives." [1]

Human Resource and Social Development Canada and Statistics Canada have launched a massive "National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth" which will follow a group of 23,831 children, located across Canada and aged 0-11 in 1994-1995, until they reach adulthood. The study is designed to look into the "black box" of child development to see which supposed "at risk factors" are responsible for negative outcomes, and how these factors interact:

"While we are certain that family financial resources are associated with many aspects of child development, we are not as certain of the various ways the influence is transmitted. It can be through nutrition, stress, health care, access to material goods, self-esteem, neighbourhood influence, and so on." [2]

Briefly, preliminary results from the first "cycle" of surveys suggest that individual risk factors (such as single parent families, low education of parents, low household income, parental depression, lack of social supports or family "dysfunction") have very limited effects on academic and behavioural outcomes.

However, the effects of at-risk factors appear to multiply, so that children with multiple-risk factors show significantly more negative outcomes than children with fewer risk factors present. It has been estimated that two or three risk factors increase the chances of negative outcomes fourfold, and four risk factors tenfold.[3] However, parenting styles can positively or negatively impact outcomes to some extent, so that "children in at-risk situations who enjoyed positive parenting achieved scores within the average range for children in Canada."[4]

This is significant, precisely because large numbers of Aboriginal children in Manitoba find themselves in multiple risk situations. Single parent families, teen parents, less than Grade 12 education, low income, parental incarceration, health problems and disabilities, foster placements and children in care – each of these sorts of issues have been demonstrated by evidence to be more likely to "find" the Aboriginal family. The at-risk factors are themselves inter-related, and often appear together – for example, single mothers with low educational attainments, low income, poor urban neighbourhoods and frequent residential moves.

Attendance at early childhood or preschool development programs is considered a "factor facilitating a child's cognitive and social development... particularly... among children from economically disadvantaged families." According to the Aboriginal Peoples Survey (2001), close to one half of Aboriginal children living off reserve and aged 6-14 had at one point attended a preschool program. Most had attended a program not specifically designed for Aboriginal children – from 43% to 47% of each age cohort, with no significant difference between younger and older children. However, 4% of 14-year olds and 16% of 6-year-old attended an Aboriginal-specific program, with increases each year for children nine and under.[5]

During the 1990's and since, the federal government has provided funding for initiatives offering subsidized day care and developmental services for Aboriginal preschoolers. Health Canada's Head Start program was initially targeted at off-reserve Aboriginal people, and has more recently added an on-reserve component. As well, since 1997, Human Resources Development Canada has provided funding for on-reserve child-care centres for parents pursuing training or employment. There are day care centres in almost all Manitoba First Nations, administered by local officials.

CHILDREN IN CARE OF CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICE AGENCIES

In Manitoba in 1996, 13.2% of Aboriginal children aged 0-14 were not living with their parents, a figure about seven times that for non-Aboriginal children. This proportion is ordinarily higher on reserves and rural off-reserve locations, and lower in urban areas.[6] Of the many possible reasons for children not living with parents, apprehension by Child and Family Services (CFS) may be the most common, particularly among Status Indians. Of 32,000 Status Indians aged 0-14 counted in the 1996 Census, about 3,000 were in the care of Child and Family Services.

Manitoba places children into care at a high rate in general: 16.6 per 1,000 children, as compared to 9.7 in Saskatchewan and 10.0 in Alberta.[7] These children ordinarily reside in foster or group homes. The number of children in care rose steadily to about 5,300 in 1994-1995, and has remained at this level each year in the late 1990s.

Aboriginal children are over-represented among children in CFS care. Of 5,389 children in care as of March 31, 1997, 3,071 or 57% were Status Indians. An additional 326 or 6.1% were Metis, and 362 or 6.7% non-Status or Inuit.[8] So, Aboriginal children, representing about 20% of the child population, comprised at least 70% of the children in care (a further 417 children, or 7.7%, were not identified as either Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal).

The Ma Mawi Chi Itata Centre in Winnipeg, established in 1984, provides child and family services to Aboriginal children of Winnipeg. It is a non-mandated agency, meaning that it has no power to remove children from their families.

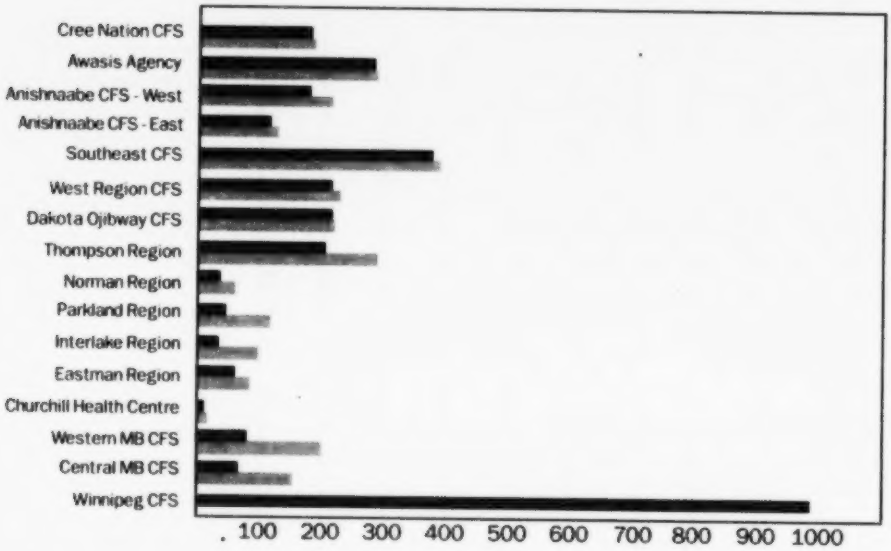
Mandated child and family services for off-reserve Aboriginal children are under provincial jurisdiction, and are administered by the mainstream CFS agencies. In Winnipeg, Aboriginal children currently account for about 70% of the children in care.[9] According to a 1998 Winnipeg CFS report, the number of Aboriginal children in its care tripled over the previous decade, while the number of non-Aboriginal children in care declined.[10]

Manitoba Metis children appear to be only slightly over-represented among children in care, except in the Parkland region (i.e. Dauphin/Swan River), where they were 53% of the children in care in 1997 (63 of 118 children). The largest number of Metis children in care are in Winnipeg (192 of 326), but this is only 7.2% of children in care of Winnipeg CFS.[11] Children (aged 0-14) identified as Metis in the Census are 5% of the children in Winnipeg.

By contrast, both Status and non-Status Indians are extremely over-represented among children in care. For example, in Winnipeg in 1997, the 987 Status children in care represented 37% of all children in care, though Status children were only 6.3% of the child population. A Status child in Winnipeg is therefore six times as likely to be removed from the family as the average child.

Province-wide, the over 3,000 Status children in care were distributed among agencies as follows:

Potential Years of Life Lost (PYLL) by Cause of Death,
First Nations On Reserve and Canada, 1999



Since the 1980s, First Nations-controlled child and family service agencies have been mandated to serve the on-reserve population. Dakota-Ojibway Tribal Council established Canada's first mandated Aboriginal CFS agency in 1981. There are currently seven agencies, as indicated on the above chart. In 1997, 1,609 Status children were in the care of these agencies, or 53% of Status children in care.[12] Because 58% of Status children lived on reserve in 1996, this indicates that on-reserve Status children are less likely to be taken into care than off reserve children, but that the difference is slight. Children apprehended by the on-reserve CFS agencies, however, are more likely to be placed within the community and, if possible, the extended family.

The number of Status children in the care of the First-Nations controlled CFS agencies increased from 61% in 1984 to 69% in 1990.[13] It then decreased to 53% in 1997, despite a slight increase in the proportion of Status children living on reserve. The decrease was due to:

1 the rapid increase in the number of off-reserve children in the care of the mainstream CFS agencies, especially in Winnipeg;

2 efforts to find family-based solutions by the First Nations CFS agencies; and

3 lack of funding and mandate to extend First Nations CFS services off reserve.

The result was that relatively fewer Status children were in the care of the First Nations agencies in the 1990s than in the 1980s.

The Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission appointed by the provincial government in 1999 made as its first recommendation the extension of Aboriginal-controlled CFS agencies off reserve. In February 2000, the province signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the MMF that will lead to the establishment of a province-wide child and family services system for Metis people, including adoption services.[14] A similar MOU was subsequently signed with First Nations regarding mandated services for off-reserve members.

The Province of Manitoba proclaimed legislation November 24, 2003, creating four new agencies: the First Nations of Southern Manitoba Child and Family Services (CFS) Authority, The First Nations of Northern Manitoba CFS Authority, The Metis CFS Authority, and the General CFS Authority. Case loads are currently being transferred over from the existing agency.[15]

CHAPTER 4: EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Grade 9 completion is often considered an indicator of basic functional literacy. Research shows that completion of Grade 11 is the first point at which further educational attainment is rewarded by increased earnings in the labour market. Certification of graduation from Grade 12 is mandatory for almost all new employment positions, with most requiring some post-secondary education or training.

The Conference Board of Canada reports that "corporations expect about 92% of new employees to have at least completed secondary education; 23% should have community college diplomas and 24% university degrees."[1] This is a conservative estimate. The conventional wisdom is that 70% of new positions will require post-secondary education or training.

The current educational profile of the Aboriginal population does not remotely resemble emerging labour market requirements. This is a young population, and growing at more than twice the rate of the non-Aboriginal population. Of Manitoba children aged 0-14, 23.4% are Aboriginal, and they will join the working age population over the next 20 years, comprising a similar proportion of potential new entrants to the labour market. The educational profile of today's Aboriginal youth is of crucial importance to the province's economic future. Unfortunately, the indicators are not encouraging.

FUNCTIONAL LITERACY

The level of primary and secondary education of Manitoba's Aboriginal people is improving, but still lags significantly behind that of the general population. Statistics show that 8.7% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-29 have less than a Grade 9 education, compared to 10.8% of Aboriginal people aged 30-39 and 14.2% of those aged 40-49. This indicates improvement, and in fact the number of Aboriginal youth with less than grade nine has fallen from 12.4% in 1996. However, by way of contrast, only 1.6% of the non-Aboriginal population aged 15-29 has not completed Grade 9.

There has been a long-term trend toward increasing educational attainment, for Aboriginal people as for all other groups in Manitoba. A literacy survey undertaken in Manitoba by the Metis National Council asked its respondents aged 15+ about their highest educational attainment, and also that of their mothers and fathers. The largest group of Metis respondents (43%) fell into the Grade 9 – Grade 11 group, followed by Grade 5 – Grade 8 (18%) and Grade 12 (17%). Of their parents, however, the largest group fell into the Grade 5-8 range (34% of mothers and 30% of fathers, followed by Grade 9 – Grade 11 (about 21%) and Grade 1 – Grade 4 (about 12%).[2]

Although there has been marked improvement in education levels for all Aboriginal groups, there remains a wide gulf between Status Indians on and off-reserve, and between Status Indians and Metis. Statistics show that 7.0% of Metis aged 40-49 have not completed Grade 9 compared to 20.3% of Status Indians. For those aged 15-29, 12.3% of Status Indians and only 3% of Metis have not completed Grade 9. Of Status Indians aged 15-29 and residing off-reserve, 6.5% have not completed Grade 9, compared to 17.3% on-reserve.

Low educational attainment continues to be associated with geographic isolation, as First Nations accessible only by air continue to show higher rates of adults with less than Grade 9 education than other more accessible communities.

HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION

Only 37.1% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-29 have completed high school. Another 54.2% have some high school, whether or not they are still attending school. Only among those aged 50+ are lower high school completion rates seen (32%). The low rate of high school completion among Aboriginal youth is cause for concern though, of course, many youth non-completers are still in school or will return as adults to complete Grade 12 or equivalent.

Statistics show that *49.9% of Metis aged 15-29 have completed high school, compared to* 63.7% of non-Aboriginal youth. Among Status Indian youth outside Winnipeg, 39% off-reserve and 23% on-reserve have completed high school. In Winnipeg, 35.8% of Status Indian youth and 53.6% of Metis youth have completed high school.

MANITOBA HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION RATES, 2001 CENSUS:

Age	Non-Aboriginal	Metis	Status Off-Reserve	Status On-Reserve	All Aboriginal
15-29	63.5	49.9	40.9	23.0	37.1
30-39	80.6	67.3	63.7	42.1	57.8
40-49	75.5	61.5	54.8	44.1	54.9

Comparing this with data from 1996 shows that there has been distinct improvement in high school completion rates over five years for Metis, and also for Status Indians off-reserve outside Winnipeg, but little or no improvement for Status Indians on-reserve or in Winnipeg. However, the figures for the Metis must be viewed with some caution: it may be that the large numbers who self-identified in 2001 but not 1996 have average education levels higher than those who self-identified in both Censuses.

Overall, 44.1% of Aboriginal people aged 15+ had completed Grade 12 at the time of the 2001 Census, compared to 64.5% of the non-Aboriginal population. This is up from 38.2 % in 1996 and 33.3% in 1991, showing steady and significant improvement in high school completion. Aboriginal adults aged 30-49 are most likely to have completed high school. Within this age group, roughly two-thirds of Metis and Status Indians off-reserve have completed, and about 42% of Status Indians on-reserve.

POST-SECONDARY

Of Aboriginal people who have completed high school, large numbers have pursued post-secondary education or training of some sort. For example, 29.4% of all Metis aged 40-49 had completed some sort of non-university training, as had 20.2% of all Status Indians aged 40-49. For both groups, by the age of 40 a large majority of high school graduates had some post-secondary training/education, of which more than half had completed a certificate or degree.

Only 8.4% of Aboriginal people aged 15+ have their high school certificate and no further post-secondary. There appear to be two entirely different typical educational trajectories for Aboriginal people – almost half do not complete high school, while the other half pursues post-secondary education/training. The large gulf between the two groups means that moving a person from the first to the second group may require a series of education and training "interventions."

Aboriginal graduates who pursue post-secondary education are more likely to attend community colleges or other non-university education or training, relative to the non-Aboriginal population. While non-Aboriginal people attend university and other post-secondary in approximately equal numbers, Aboriginal people are almost twice as likely to pursue non-university post-secondary education – 27.6% versus 14.5% for the Metis, and 19.2% versus 14% for Status Indians.

Aboriginal attendance and completion rates for non-university post-secondary education do not differ substantially from non-Aboriginal rates, especially among Metis and off-reserve Status Indians. Of adults aged 15+, 20.7% of non-Aboriginal people have completed, compared with 21.1% of Metis, 17.7% of off-reserve Status, and 10.7% of on-reserve Status. There have been substantial improvements in completion rates since 1996 for both Metis and off-reserve Status Indians, but little or no improvement on-reserve.

NON-UNIVERSITY POST-SECONDARY COMPLETION RATES, 2001 CENSUS:

Age	Non-Aboriginal	Metis	Status Off-Reserve	Status On-Reserve	All Aboriginal
15-29	13.4	13.2	9.5	5.6	9.6
30-39	26.0	29.4	23.3	16.2	23.2
40-49	26.2	29.4	23.3	17.4	24.0

Note that a Status Indian on-reserve aged 15-29 has less than one-half the non-Aboriginal chance of completing non-university post-secondary education, but at age 40-49 has 66.4% the chance. This is due to higher educational participation among older Aboriginal people. For the same reason, lower completion rates among Aboriginal youth aged 15-29 do not necessarily suggest a deteriorating trend. Many will complete their schooling later in life.

By contrast, far fewer Manitoba Aboriginal people attend university, and fewer still complete. Only 4% of Aboriginal people in Manitoba aged 15+ have completed a university degree (2.4% on-reserve) compared to 14.2% of the non-Aboriginal population. This represents about 1,880 Status Indians, 1,800 Metis, and 190 non-Status Indian university graduates in the province. While the total number of Aboriginal university graduates appears rather low, it should be noted that this number almost doubled between 1996 and 2001.

The majority of Aboriginal university graduates are female. Of Metis women, 5.8% have completed degrees, compared to 3.8% of men. Of Status women, 4.5% have degrees, compared to 2.3% of Status men. In Winnipeg, 7.2% of Metis women and 6.6% of Status women have completed a degree. By contrast, non-Aboriginal men and women are about equally likely to complete a degree – 18.2% and 17.1% in Winnipeg respectively.

Non-Aboriginal people complete more years of education, and earlier, but more Aboriginal people continue their education later in life. Of Aboriginal youth aged 15-25, 41% were full-time students in 2001, compared to 50% of non-Aboriginal youth. However, 8.3% of Aboriginal adults aged 25-44 attended full-time, compared to just 4.3% of non-Aboriginal adults. Interestingly, because of younger demographics and higher adults attendance rates, Aboriginal people aged 15+ are far more likely than non-Aboriginal people to be full-time students – 15.4% compared to 9.9%.[3]

PERCENT WITH SOME UNIVERSITY OR COMPLETED DEGREE, 2001 CENSUS

Age	Non-Aboriginal	Metis	Status Off-Reserve	Status On-Reserve	All Aboriginal
15-29	30.2	15.9	10.8	5.1	11.0
30-39	34.9	16.8	23.6	13.3	16.9
40-49	30.3	14.3	19.5	17.2	16.6

Metis youth are three times as likely to complete a university degree by age 30 than are Status Indians (3.7% versus 1.1%). However, Status Indians are as likely to attend or complete university during their lives than Metis – and Status Indians residing off-reserve are more likely. This is unusual, given that Metis high school graduations rates are higher, and is due to Band support for post-secondary university education funded through Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, which is not available to Metis and non-Status Indians. Metis are, however, eligible for non-university education through labour market training funding, and therefore tend to steer toward community colleges rather than university.[4]

FOCUS: YOUTH

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

Nationally, 57% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-24 live in two-parent families, 25% in single parent families, and 18% in other arrangements. However, less than 20% of rural and reserve youth live in single parent families, and over 30% in urban settings, especially large cities. In Winnipeg, 34% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-29 live with single parents, consistent with numbers in other large prairie cities.[1]

Aboriginal youth are about three times as likely to live with a single parent as non-Aboriginal youth. They are also far more likely to be single parents. In Manitoba, almost one in ten Aboriginal youth aged 15-29 is a single parent, compared to one in 37 non-Aboriginal youth. In fact, almost half of single parent youth are Aboriginal (48.2%), though just 17.2% of all youth are Aboriginal.

However, this also varies according to location. Of Status Indian youth on-reserve, 11.3% are single parents, and 21% in Winnipeg. For Metis youth, the figures are 10.4% in Winnipeg and 6.6% outside Winnipeg. In both cases, youth are twice as likely to be single parents in Winnipeg compared to outside Winnipeg. Of Aboriginal youth in Winnipeg, 13.2% are single parents and, given that over 90% of these are female, about one in four Winnipeg Aboriginal female youth are single parents. Of all single parent families in Winnipeg headed by youth, 36.7% are Aboriginal.

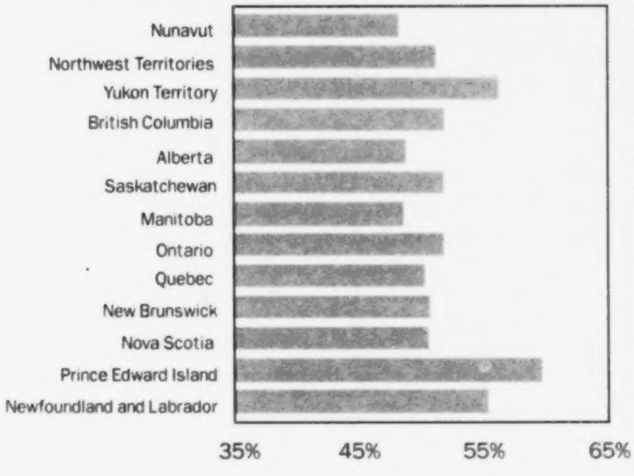
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Manitoba has the lowest rate of school attendance among Aboriginal youth of any province or territory in Canada, this was also the case in 1996. Only 46.9% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-24 were attending school either full or part- time, at the time of the 2001 Census. The national average for Aboriginal youth was 51%.

Between 1996 and 2001, the percentage of youth attending school in Manitoba has not substantially changed for either the Metis or for the population as a whole. However, the percentage of North American Indian-identity youth in school has increased from 42% to 45%.

In Manitoba, only 27.8% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-24 have completed high school and/or undertaken post-secondary education. Manitoba ranks lower in this regard than any other province in Canada, the national average being 34.8%.

Aboriginal Youth 15-24 Attending School, 2001 Census



Nationally, Aboriginal youth are 60% as likely as non-Aboriginal youth to have completed high school. Manitoba ranks behind all other provinces in this regard, at 52.3%, followed by Quebec (56%), Saskatchewan (57.5%), Alberta (62.4%) and British Columbia (62.4%). In all other provinces and territories, Aboriginal youth are at least 70% as likely.[2]

The 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey found that of Aboriginal youth aged 15-19 who had left school (across Canada), 24% of males said they had left because they were bored, and 19% because they wanted to work. The main reason among females was pregnancy or the need to look after children (25%), followed by boredom (15%).[3]

LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION

The Manitoba Aboriginal youth unemployment rate of 26.6% is close to the national average of 26.4%. It should be noted that the Aboriginal youth unemployment rate fell sharply from 1996, when it was 35.5%, due to over-all improved economic conditions. As well, the likelihood of Aboriginal youth being unemployed, relative to non-Aboriginal youth, declined from 3.5 times as likely in 1996 to 2.3 times as likely in 2001. Nationally, the ratio is 1.7 times as likely.[4]

In Winnipeg the Aboriginal youth unemployment rate in 2001 was 21.3%. It is encouraging to note that Aboriginal youth unemployment rates in Winnipeg have been declining steadily since 1981. Of youth aged 15-24, the unemployment rate was 33.7% in 1981, 30.8% in 1986, 28.9% in 1991, and 28.8% in 1996.[5]

Because official unemployment rates do not include discouraged workers, or those who attend school because of a perceived lack of employment alternatives, some economists regard employment rates as a superior measure of market success. Because of low labour market participation among Aboriginal youth in Manitoba relative to other provinces, employment rates are slightly below the national average even though unemployment rates are average.

Of Manitoba Aboriginal youth, 33.8% were employed in 2001, including both full and part-time. The national average was 36.3%. In Newfoundland and Labrador the employment rate of 26.2% is lower due to a high Aboriginal youth unemployment rate (39.8% to Manitoba at 26.6%), while Saskatchewan is lower due to a lower participation rate (39.2% to Manitoba at 46%. Employment rates in Nova Scotia and Quebec were similar to Manitoba, while other provinces had higher participation rates – particularly Ontario (43.1%) and Alberta (42.2%). Therefore, Aboriginal youth employment rates are highly variable across the country.[6]

Disparities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth in employment and labour market participation rates diminish or disappear among youth with higher levels of education. Nationally, an Aboriginal youth with less than high school is 70% as likely to participate in the labour market, and 52% as likely to be employed, as a non-Aboriginal youth with equivalent education. The odds increase to 88% and 77% for high school completers, and 94% and 80% for those with a post-secondary certificate. Aboriginal youth with a university degree are 107% as likely as non-Aboriginal youth to participate in the labour market, and 95% as likely to be employed.[7] *However, the Aboriginal unemployment rate is higher at all levels of education.*

Those Aboriginal youth who reported full-time, full-year (FTFY) employment in the year preceding the Census did so at rates of pay very similar to non-Aboriginal youth – 98% off-reserve and 96% overall. However, only 5.1% of Manitoba Aboriginal youth did work FTFY; and Aboriginal youth were only 37% as likely as non-Aboriginal youth to be employed on this basis. This rose to 60% as likely in Winnipeg, where 8% of Aboriginal youth worked FTFY.[8]

Youth employment by industry sector varies according to location. Generally speaking, 15% of employed Aboriginal youth are in the public sector, and only 8% of non-Aboriginal youth. On-reserve, however, 35% of employed youth are in the public sector, mostly band offices and schools. Aboriginal youth are also more likely to be employed in the public sector in off- reserve rural areas. But the differential between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth public sector employment disappears in urban areas. While urban Aboriginal youth are more likely to be employed by federal, provincial or municipal governments, they are less likely to be employed in public education or health.[9]

CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

According to a September 2000 article in a national newspaper, there are an estimated 37 gangs in Manitoba, with 1,896 active members, as well as 1,239 "inactive members" who have had no police contact for at least two years.[10] *This appears to be a greater number of gang members than any other province including Ontario or Quebec (though no estimate is available* *for B.C.). But the Manitoba gang activity, much more than any other province, is largely street gangs who actively recruit members, as opposed to biker or mob gangs which limit their inner circle. So the numbers may be misleading in terms of the scale of gang-related activity.*

According to Melanie Nimmo, a researcher in criminology, writing in 2001:

> *Winnipeg provides a unique example as there are different gangs, each at different stages of evolution and different levels of organization. Thus it is possible to see the changes that occur as gangs evolve and become more organized. As individual gangs evolve they attempt to become less visible and their hierarchical structure becomes more rigid. They sanction particular crimes and not others. They seek out other lower status gangs to do the predatory and risky runner work. As a gang evolves, the number of members in jail usually decreases. In the world of organized crime, street gangs are at the bottom of the pecking order.*[11]

According to a spokesperson from the Winnipeg Police Service Street Gang Unit, the street gangs are mistakenly identified as native youth gangs: " 'There is no such thing as a native gang. There is no such thing as a youth gang,' he said, noting most members are adults between 21 and 24 and none of the gangs is exclusively ethnic or racially based." [12]

Large numbers of members of prominent gangs such as the Indian Posse and the Manitoba Warriors are, however, Aboriginal youth aged 15-29, and a number of native organizations exist for the purpose of trying to prevent Aboriginal youth from joining gangs, and supporting Aboriginal people attempting to leave gangs. It would appear that a significant minority of Winnipeg's Aboriginal youth population is involved with gangs, but it is difficult to estimate the size of this group.

Agency and youth respondents at focus groups for the Red Cross Society's 1995 "Vulnerable Youth Needs Assessment" observed that:

> *Gangs often meet the needs of youth that are not being met at home. Gangs provide a type of family, a sense of belonging, and ironically, a sense of safety. In youth discussions, some commented that gangs were there for them when no one else was; when they were on their own, gangs provided food, money, a place to stay, and friendship. These youth soon realized, however, that they were then expected to participate in criminal and violent activity by the gang. Several respondents that work with high-risk youth say the gang forced their clients into pushing drugs and prostitution.*[13]

Aboriginal youth, whether gang-affiliated or not, are far more likely to run afoul of the law. For Aboriginal youth aged 12-17, there were a total of 1,263 admissions to youth correctional facilities in 1997/98 (some youth were admitted more than once). This represented over 70% of all admissions to remand. Controlling for population, Clatworthy and Mendelson (1999) have estimated that youths are 12.4 times as likely to be admitted to a youth facility if they are Aboriginal (22.4 times as likely if female). Older youth aged 20-24 were calculated to be 11 times as likely to be admitted to a provincial adult correctional facility if Aboriginal.[14]

On May 10, 2000, there were 259 Aboriginal youth in open, secure or remand custody in Manitoba, or 1.7% of the Aboriginal population aged 12-17, compared to 1.2% of Aboriginal youth nationally.[15]

CHAPTER 5: JUSTICE

HISTORICAL INCARCERATION RATES

Having examined historical reports to Parliament made by the Superintendent of Penitentiaries, the 1991 Manitoba Aboriginal Justice Commission found that:

> ...The proportion of "Indians" and of "Indian half-breeds," and of the other various equivalent designations that appeared in the reports for 1900, 1913, 1932-1933, 1934-1935 and annually until the 1949-1950 report, in the Manitoba penitentiary population reflected no more than the Aboriginal proportion of the Manitoba population in this period. The Aboriginal proportion of the Manitoba penitentiary population increased in an extraordinary fashion during the decades after 1950. [1]

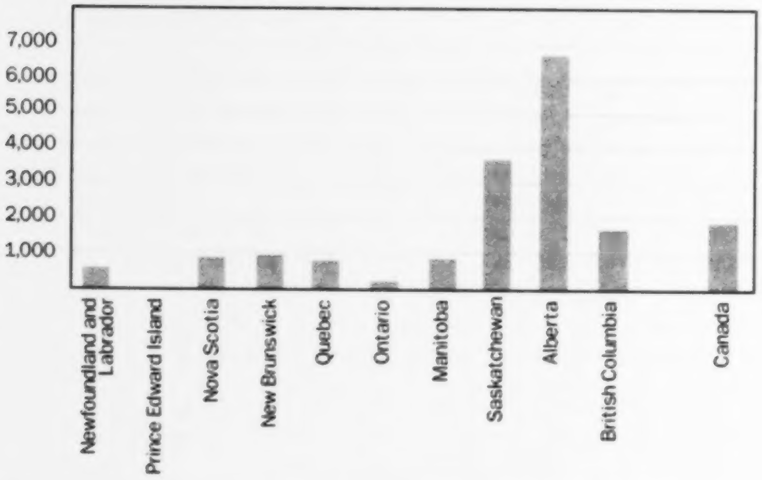
By 1965, Aboriginal people comprised 22% of inmates at the Stony Mountain federal penitentiary. This increased to 33% in 1984 and 46% in 1989. In that same year, the Aboriginal portion of the population in all Provincial institutions was 57%. At the Portage Correctional Institute for Women, 67% of inmates were Aboriginal, and 61% in institutions for young people. Over all, 56% of inmates in federal and provincial institutions were Aboriginal in 1989.[2]

According to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, the national numbers of sentenced admissions to custody peaked in 1992-1993 after a decade of growth, and have since declined on a year-to-year basis due to reductions in the numbers of adults charged. This was linked to decreasing crime rates in the 1990s. However, the incarceration rate per 10,000 adults charged continued to increase during the 1990s. Further:

> The over-representation of Aboriginal persons in the federal prison population is worsening. Aboriginal persons accounted for 11% of admissions to federal penitentiaries in 1991-1992, 15% in 1996-1997 and 17% in 1997-1998. (Aboriginal persons represent 2% of the adult population in Canada.)[3]

During the 1990s, Aboriginal over-representation in custody increased in the three prairie provinces but remained steady or decreased slightly elsewhere in Canada. The Aboriginal percentage of adult admissions to custody in Manitoba increased from 47% in 1989-1990 to 59% in 1998-1999, and during the same period the percentage increased from 66% to 76% in Saskatchewan and 31% to 38% in Alberta.[4] According to the Aboriginal Initiative Branch of the Correction Service Canada, Aboriginal people in Manitoba are 5.3 times as likely to be incarcerated in a provincial institution as are non-Aboriginal people.[5]

Provincial Aboriginal Incarceration Rate per 100,000 Population Aged 15+, 2003



Over-representation of Aboriginal people in the criminal justice system does not necessarily mean that they are selected because they are Aboriginal, nor does it necessarily imply systemic discrimination. Federal and provincial inmates in general are disproportionately young, male, previously unemployed, and having little formal education – a profile (besides maleness) shared by Aboriginal people as a population. The argument has been made that Aboriginal people are found in custody in the numbers that would be expected, given the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Aboriginal population.

Age structure, unemployment rate and educational profile vary widely for Aboriginal people in different provinces and different settings (urban/rural/reserve). The same is true of other risk factors such as mobility and lone parenting. La Prairie (2002) looked at nine urban areas across Canada and found that distribution of these characteristics paralleled penal over-representation, with Prairie cities showing both the widest variation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations and the greatest degree of Aboriginal penal over-representation.[6]

CRIME AND VICTIMIZATION RATES

La Prairie and Stenning also note that persons living in "vulnerable neighbourhoods" are far more likely to become involved with the criminal justice system, either as victims of crime or alleged offenders. This is the case whether Aboriginal people do or do not comprise a plurality within these neighbourhoods – here, reference is made to Vancouver's Downtown East Side (DTES) which has a relatively low Aboriginal population:

> What these data strongly suggest is that over-representation... may well have to do with certain demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the areas from which it arises than with what is generally accepted as the main cause (i.e., racial discrimination or "cultural insensitivity" on the part of the police and other criminal justice officials). To put it another way, police and other criminal justice officials are called upon to respond to patterns of crime in certain neighbourhoods ... which make it understandable, if not inevitable, that the most disadvantaged people in those neighbourhoods... will more frequently come to the attention of the police and, consequently, be statistically over-represented in the criminal justice system.[7]

The Solicitor General Canada estimates that "70% of all Aboriginal people sentenced to penitentiaries are either residents of urban (non-reserve) communities, or committed their offences while off reserve."[8] A one-day "snapshot" of Aboriginal youth in custody taken in Manitoba in May 2000 found that, of 259 youth in custody, 65% lived in a city during the two years prior to commission of offence, compared to just 25% on reserve and 10% in a "town." Similarly, 67% of offenses occurred in a city – 56% in Winnipeg alone - and just 22% on reserve.[9]

In a survey undertaken in 1999, 35% of Canadian Aboriginal people reported having been the victim of one or more crimes in the past year, compared to 26% of non-Aborginal adults. However, both groups reported similar rates of property crime victimization, while rates of violent crimes were three times higher among Aboriginal people. A great deal of the difference in violent crime victimization rates involves persons, especially women, reporting spousal assault. 25% of Aboriginal women with a current or former partner, with whom they had contact in the previous five years, reported having been assaulted, compared to just 8% of non-Aboriginal women.[10]

Aboriginal people have long had educational, employment and income characteristics differing from the general population. It may be that the pattern of increasing over-representation in the criminal justice system since the 1950s is largely the result of their increasing urbanization, and also their increasing concentration in the youth and young adult demographic cohorts from which "offenders" are ordinarily selected. Other explanatory factors would include increased police surveillance of rural/isolated areas since the 1960s, and decreased "tolerance" of domestic violence since the 1980s.

If so, then the past 50 years have seen a massive increase in the incarceration of this population, in the absence of any demonstrable increase in actual age-standardized crime rates, and despite increasing concern about the deleterious effects of over-incarceration.

ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION

In 1997-1998, the average cost to keep an inmate in a Manitoba provincial facility was $101.73 per day, and in federal penitentiaries, $128.35 per day (respectively, $37,130 and $46,850 per year).[11] These are operating expenses only, largely salaries and benefits of corrections officers and support staff, and do not include the capital costs of prisons, nor the operating costs of police, courts, prosecution or legal aid.

Since the 1990s, there has been increasing interest by both federal and provincial officials in reducing incarceration rates, especially for Aboriginal people, by developing and encouraging alternative sentencing. According to the Solicitor General Canada:

> Canada's incarceration rate is higher than most other Western democracies. We imprison 129 out of every 100,000 of our citizens. While this is less than some countries such as the United States (645), it is more than countries such as France (110), England (104), Germany (95), Austria (86) and Norway (84). ...But adult Aboriginal people are incarcerated more than eight times the national rate. In Saskatchewan, the adult Aboriginal incarceration rate is over 1,600 per 100,000, compared to 48 per 100,000 for adult non-Aboriginals.[12]

In September 1996, federal Bill C-41 created a new sentencing disposition, called the "Conditional Sentence of Imprisonment," available to courts in the case of "low risk offenders" sentenced to less than two years. Once a sentence to imprisonment has been made, the court may order the offender to serve this sentence in the community under supervision, provided that certain conditions are met. Bill C-41 also introduced alternative measures for community supervision of offenders. The intent of the Bill was to reduce provincial and territorial admissions to prisons, and therefore reduce prison populations.[13]

Since 1996, the use of conditional sentencing has increased from year to year, to the point where there were 12,900 adults serving conditional sentences compared to 10,600 in prison across Canada in 2002/03, and 899 compared to 620 in Manitoba.[14] It is, of course, impossible to say how many of these cases would have received an alternate disposition such as probation in the absence of the conditional sentencing option.

As a final note, increased use of conditional and other community-based sentencing not specifically targeted at Aboriginal people does not necessarily decrease the Aboriginal portion of the prison population. In fact, to the extent that Aboriginal offenders are disproportionately convicted of offences against the person as opposed to property, or deemed by correctional authorities to be at high risk to re-offend, then the increased use of community sanctions for non-violent or low risk offenders will actually increase the relative incarceration rate of Aboriginal people. This may account for part of the observed increase in this rate during the 1990's.

Alternatives to incarceration for low-risk offenders include:

- Restitution to victims;
- Community service orders;
- Mediation services; and
- Electronic monitoring (in use, for example, in Saskatchewan).

Alternatives to incarceration based upon traditional First Nations and Metis justice practices fall under the general rubric of "Restorative Justice." These include:

- Victim and offender mediation;
- Circle sentencing;
- Family group conferencing; and
- Community sentencing panels.[15]

The Province of Manitoba provides funding for a number of Restorative Justice initiatives, including the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak (MKO) First Nations Justice Strategy, the St. Theresa Point Aboriginal Youth Court, the Hollow Water Community Holistic Circle Healing Project, Onashowewin Inc., and mediation services in Winnipeg, Brandon and Thompson. A number of these initiatives are cost-shared with the Government of Canada.

CHAPTER 6: LABOUR AND INCOME

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) conducted and reported monthly by Statistics Canada is the most commonly cited source for key labour market indicators. The June 2001 report showed Canada-wide unemployment rates falling to 7% from 10% in June 1996 (the date of the previous Census). Total employment increased from 13.6 million to 16.2 million. At 5.4%, Manitoba in 2001 had the lowest unemployment rate of any province except Alberta, and its employment rate of 65.6% trailed only Prince Edward Island at 65.7% and Alberta at 70.7%.[1] Clearly, the period from 1996 to 2001 was one of strong economic and employment growth for Manitoba and for Canada as a whole.

However, the Labour Force Survey excludes on reserve Status Indians, and does not distinguish between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in off-reserve settings.[2] For Aboriginal people, the five-year Census provides the best snapshot of labour market characteristics.

As with previous Census, the 2001 Census clearly showed that Aboriginal people are, on average, less likely than other Manitobans to participate in the labour market. Where they do participate, they are much more likely to be unemployed – that is not working but actively looking for work. Where they are working, employment is more likely to be intermittent and not secure, and average yearly wages are considerably below average.

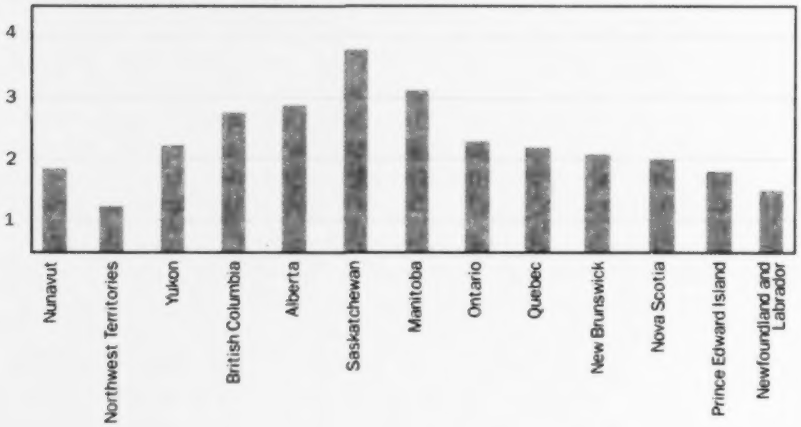
THE ABORIGINAL LABOUR FORCE

Overall, Manitoba's labour market participation rate for Aboriginal adults aged 15+ was 61.4% in 2001. This was up from 54.1% in 1996, 59.6% in 1991, and 55.9% in 1981. The 2001 Aboriginal unemployment rate was 19.1%, down from 25.3% in 1996, 20% in 1991 and 23.9% in 1981.[3]

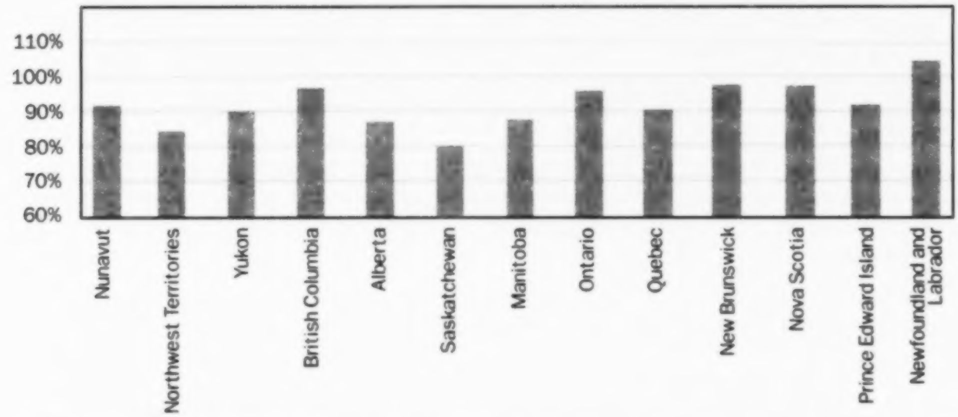
Despite the reduction in Manitoba's Aboriginal unemployment rate, it remains 311% that of the total population. This ratio has changed little from 1996 (325%) despite the greatly improved economic conditions. It is worthwhile to note that, of 35,430 Manitobans unemployed at the time of the Census, 10,770 or over 30% were Aboriginal. Aboriginal people make up just 9.7% of the labour force.

The relative unemployment rate of Aboriginal people in Manitoba, at 311%, is much higher than the national average rate of 259%. Among provinces and territories, only Saskatchewan has a higher relative rate, at 365%. Similarly, Aboriginal people in Manitoba have a lower than average labour market participation rate relative to non-Aboriginal people – 87.7% compared to the Canadian average of 92%. Saskatchewan has the country's lowest rate at 80.3%.[4]

Ratio Aboriginal to Non-Aboriginal Unemployment Rate by Province and Territory, 2001 Census



Ratio Aboriginal to Non-Aboriginal Labour Market Participation Rate by Province and Territory, 2001 Census



Many areas of Canada have Aboriginal labour market participation rates of well over 90% of non-Aboriginal rates. The Maritimes, Ontario and British Columbia all average approximately 96%. Rates under 90% are found only in the contiguous geographical area of the three prairie provinces and the Northwest Territories. Saskatchewan is very much the epicentre of Aboriginal non-integration into the labour force.

Michael Mendelson (2004) has noted that, taking Canada as a whole, there is an average Aboriginal labour market participation rate of just 52% on-reserve. This is much less than the 64-66% rates found in rural areas and in small and large urban centres.[5] In fact, Saskatchewan's on-reserve population is proportionally higher than that of Manitoba (35% versus 32.5%) and much higher than Alberta (22.1%).

But on-reserve figures alone cannot explain Saskatchewan's lower rate of labour market participation, since both Nova Scotia and Quebec have higher proportions of their population on-reserve than Saskatchewan, and at the same time, higher relative participation rates. Saskatchewan's two major urban centres have Aboriginal participation rates, relative to non-Aboriginal rates, well below all other urban centres in Canada.

Of other prairie urban centres, Edmonton and Winnipeg have relative participation rates of about 93-94%, while in Calgary the rate is approximately 100%. In eastern cities, the average is 100%, with a low of 97% in Sudbury and a high of 104% in Toronto. The average in western cities is 93% with the lowest figures, as mentioned, in Regina (83%) and Saskatoon (84%).[6]

In terms of Aboriginal participation and employment, Manitoba and Alberta fare distinctly better than Saskatchewan, but still distinctly worse than other provinces. Alberta has one of the lowest relative participation rates, even though it also has one of the lowest on-reserve populations proportionately. Generally, all three prairie provinces have exhibited a long-standing, structural inability to integrate sufficient numbers of Aboriginal people into their economies.

All else being equal, the gap in employment prospects for Aboriginal people in these provinces, compared to the rest of the country, is expected to increase over the next 10 to 20 years. As noted in earlier chapters, the Aboriginal working age population in the Prairie Provinces is increasing faster than elsewhere in the country, and current school attendance and completion rates are also lower.

In Manitoba, Aboriginal unemployment rates are higher at all levels of education. College completion for Aboriginal people has little effect on their unemployment rate as compared to high school completion, but there is a higher employment rate among college graduates due to higher labour market participation. Even among the relatively few Aboriginal university graduates, the unemployment rate is two and-a-half times the rate for non-Aboriginal alumnae. The unemployment rate for Aboriginal alumnae, in fact, is almost twice as high as for non-Aboriginal people who have merely completed high school.

However, Aboriginal labour market participation rates increase with level of education, to the point that Aboriginal people who have completed college or university are actually more likely to participate than non-Aboriginal people of equivalent education. Higher education helps close the employment gap for Aboriginal people because it is associated with increased labour market participation. The relative employment odds for Aboriginal people versus non-Aboriginal people are about 80% for high school graduates, 88% for college graduates, and 99% for university graduates.[7]

It will be a significant public challenge merely to maintain current Aboriginal employment rates in coming years, due to the large numbers of young Aboriginal people entering the labour market. A 1998 Conference Board of Canada report[8] estimated that an additional 160,000 Aboriginal people would need to find work by 2006 to maintain employment levels nationally – a 50% increase in the number employed. The report added that Manitoba and Saskatchewan would be particularly challenged, due to the larger Aboriginal population relative to total population, and lower projected job creation than other provinces such as British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario.

On the other hand, Manitoba's recent job creation record has been strong, unemployment rates are low in all three prairie provinces, and the Aboriginal labour force is the province's most under-utilized human resource. It is encouraging to note that, while Manitoba's Aboriginal working age population grew from 76,090 in 1996 to 90,445 in 2001, the number of unemployed actually decreased from 11,065 to 10,770. Therefore, there was a net increase of 14,630 jobs filled by Aboriginal people in this period.

METIS LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

It is important to understand that labour market indicators vary significantly for Aboriginal people depending on group and location. Studies showing higher labour market participation and lower unemployment off-reserve than on-reserve tell only part of the story, because the off-reserve component includes Metis as well as Status Indians, and both urban and rural off-reserve locations.

On many socio-economic variables, Metis people rank somewhere between the mainstream population and First Nations. Labour market participation is one variable where the Metis resemble non-Aboriginal more than First Nations people. In Manitoba as a whole, the labour market participation rate for Metis was 71.7%, up from 68% in 1996. The 2001 rate for Non-Aboriginal people aged 15+ was 68.6%, so that Metis labour market participation actually exceeds that of the general population.[9] In distinct contrast, the over-all rate for Status Indians was just 50.2%.

The Metis unemployment rate in 2001 was 12.9%, down sharply from 19.7% in 1996. Still, this rate was 274% that of the non-Aboriginal labour force (as compared to 308% in 1996). Therefore, a total of 59.4% of the adult Metis population was employed in 2001, full or part-time, a little less than the non-Aboriginal employment rate of 62.8%.

Researchers commonly link lower participation rates to a "discouraged worker" effect. Higher unemployment rates indicate restricted employment opportunities, by this analysis, which in turn discourage people from seeking employment.[10] Given that the Metis participation rates exceed non-Aboriginal rates despite higher unemployment rates, there is no evidence of a discouraged worker effect among the Metis in Manitoba.

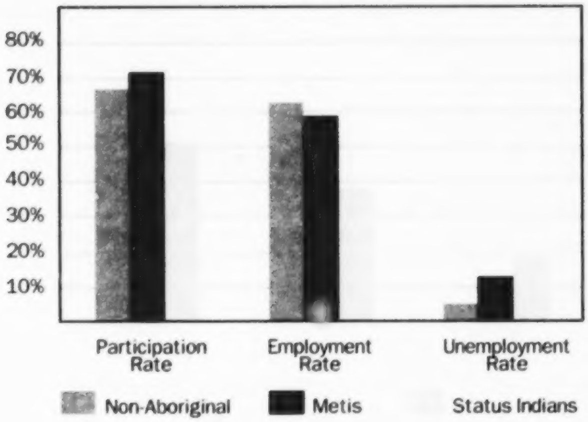
In southern Manitoba outside Winnipeg, the Metis participation rate exceeds the non-Aboriginal rate (73.4% versus 68.3%), but their unemployment rate was three times higher (11.6% versus 3.9%). The story is similar in Winnipeg, although there the gap between Metis and non-Aboriginal unemployment rates is not quite as pronounced (11.9% versus 5.1%).

The employment situation for the Metis is worse in the north. Here only 65.1% of Metis youth and adults participate in the labour market, of whom fully 20.1% were unemployed in 2001. This is compared to 72.6% and 5.5% for non-Aboriginal people, 58% and 22.5% for Status Indians off reserve, and 46.5% and 31.1% for Status Indians on-reserve. In northern Manitoba, there is more similarity between Status and Metis labour market patterns than there is in the south or in Winnipeg, and Metis figures do in fact fall squarely between those of non-Aboriginal people and Status Indians.

Northern Manitoba is considered a high unemployment area for Employment Insurance purposes. However, the Census figures indicate that unemployment among non-Aboriginal people in the north is scarcely higher than in Winnipeg. Exceptional rates of unemployment here are found entirely among the Aboriginal population. Over-all rates are high simply because the proportion of Aboriginal people in the population is much higher than in the south or in Winnipeg.

As we have noted, of the minority of Metis people who reside in the north (13.5%), more than half are in small communities, often adjacent to First Nations. These communities share with their neighbours the same structural economic problem: the lack of an economic base sufficient to employ more than a minority of the potential labour market force.

Labour Force Statistics for Manitoba 2001



Metis women are less likely than men to participate in the labour market: 65.8% versus 78.2%. The 13% differential between male and female participation rates is similar to the differential for non-Aboriginal people and for Status Indians. Metis women who did participate in the labour market reported lower unemployment in 2001 than Metis men (12% versus 13.4%). But the gap between female and male unemployment rates has narrowed considerably since 1996 (16.2% versus 22.5%) due to generally improved economic conditions.

For the Metis, as for other groups, education is a powerful determinant of labour market participation and employment rates. A Manitoba literacy survey undertaken by the Metis National Council found that, of high school graduates with or without post-secondary education, between 55% and 70% were employed at the time of the survey, and 70% to 80% were labour market participants. The majority of those not in the labour market indicated they were attending school. By contrast, of those with Grade 9 – Grade 11, about 30% were employed and 64% participated; thus, their unemployment rate exceeded 50%. Of those with less than Grade 9, only about 16% were employed and 32% participated, though it must be noted out that a large number in this group were retired.[11]

FIRST NATIONS LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

It is frequently assumed that the burgeoning Aboriginal population in Winnipeg and other western cities is the result of employment and income prospects in the cities drawing workers from rural and northern reserves where few jobs are available. However, we have already noted that there is no evidence of any significant net migration trend to Winnipeg during the 1990's.

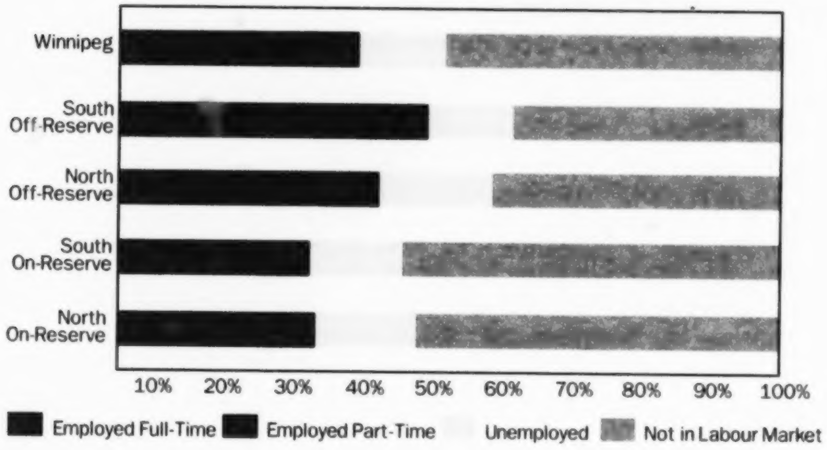
Rather, there is a trend of net migration to Winnipeg from off-reserve areas, which is offset by an approximately equal net migration from Winnipeg to reserves. Paradoxically, the labour market indicators for Status people in off-reserve areas are, on average, better than those in Winnipeg, which are in turn better than those on reserve.

Among Status Indians aged 15+ and residing in Winnipeg, just 39.3% were employed at the time of the Census. Of respondents, 51.7% reported labour market participation, 17% lower than the non-Aboriginal population and 20% lower than the Metis. Of Status labour market participants, 19.5% were unemployed and looking for work, about four times the unemployment rate of non-Aboriginal people. For Status Indians in Winnipeg, there is definite evidence of a "discouraged worker" effect, as evidenced by the low labour market participation rate.

However, there was substantial improvement in labour market statistics for Status Indians in Winnipeg from 1996 to 2001. The participation rate rose from 45.6% to 51.7%, and the unemployment rate fell from 34.7% to 19.5%. As a result the employment rate for adults aged 15+ increased from 30% to almost 40%.

On-reserve, the labour market participation rate of Status Indians in 2001 was 46.5% in the north and 45.3% in the south. These figures have changed little from 1996. Then, the labour market participation rate on-reserve was approximately the same as in Winnipeg. Now, with the improvement in the Winnipeg labour market situation, it is 5% to 6% lower. In addition, average unemployment rates are higher on-reserve: 26.3% in the north and 27.9% in the south. Thus, employment rates on-reserve are substantially lower: 31.3% in the north and 31.5% in the south, compared to 39.3% in Winnipeg. This disparity in labour market outcomes for Status Indians was not yet been reflected in net migration patterns as of 2001.

Labour Market Status of Registered Indians, 2001



Contrary to common belief, there is little overall difference in employment figures for northern and southern reserves, though there may be a great deal of variety in employment situations among individual reserves. Labour market participation is slightly higher in the north, but the unemployment level is also slightly higher, resulting in employment levels that are almost identical in the north and south. Proportionally, numbers dependent on social assistance on southern reserves actually exceed those in the north. Census figures indicate that 44.3% of individuals on southern reserves depend on government transfers as their major source of income, compared to 39.1% on-reserve in the north.

The highest employment rates for Status Indians are found off-reserve outside Winnipeg: 46.1% in the north and 49.5% in the south. Unemployment rates are also lower. As is the case in Winnipeg, these figures have improved substantially from 1996 to 2001. This does not necessarily mean job prospects are always better in places like Thompson, Brandon or The Pas than on-reserve. There are very high net mobility rates from off-reserve locations to Winnipeg and to reserves, and very high gross mobility rates. It appears that many people may be moving to these areas to find employment, and moving back when employment ends – thereby "exporting unemployment" from off-reserve areas outside Winnipeg.

On-reserve, there was only a marginal decrease in average unemployment rates from 1996 to 2001 – from 30% to 27%. Women on-reserve are less likely than men to participate in the labour force (42.2% versus 50%), but report much lower levels of unemployment than do men (23% versus 36.4%). This is largely because many of the Band-administered functions are in fields where women are disproportionately represented, such as health, education, and office administration.

Status women in Winnipeg report slightly higher labour market participation than women on-reserve (46.4%) and slightly lower unemployment (21.9%). By contrast, labour market participation and employment rates for Status men in Winnipeg are considerably higher in Winnipeg than on-reserve. Of Status men in Winnipeg, 60% are labour force participants, compared to one half on-reserve. The unemployment rate is much lower (16.7% versus 36.4%) and thus employment levels are much higher (48.4% versus 31.8%). Labour force statistics for Status men in Winnipeg have changed dramatically from 1996, when unemployment rates were similar to on-reserve rates, and participation and employment rates only slightly higher.

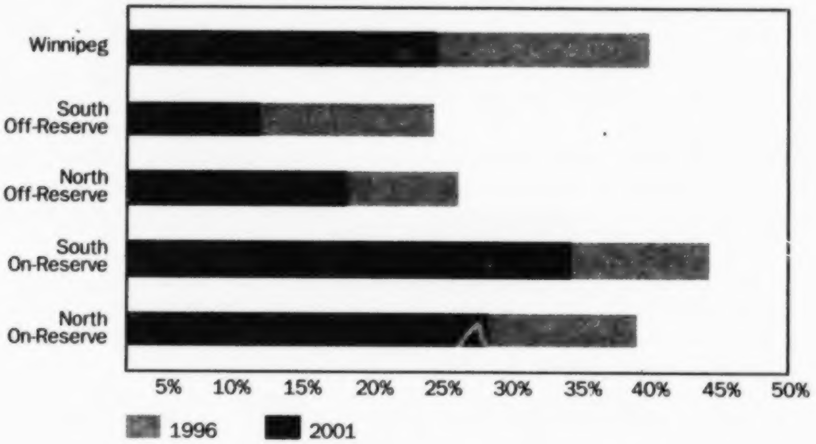
EMPLOYMENT AND TRANSFER INCOME

Aboriginal people are five times more likely than non-Aboriginal people to be dependent on government transfer payments, especially social assistance. According to 2001 Census data, government transfers were the major source of income for 19.2% of Aboriginal people in Manitoba aged 15+, compared to just 3.8% of non-Aboriginal people.

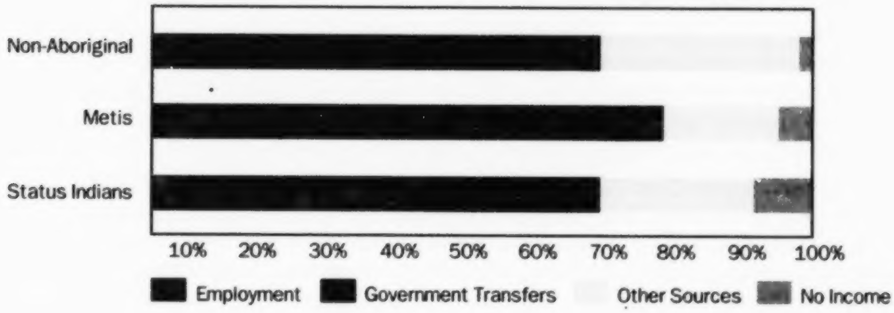
However, Aboriginal dependence on government transfers fell dramatically in 1996-2001 – from 30.8% to 19.2%. In 2001, 37.7% fewer Aboriginal people had government transfers as their major source of income. This remarkable decline in dependence occurred in every region – from 38.9% to 27.6% on-reserve in the north, 44.3% to 34.3% on-reserve in the south, 24.1% to 15.9% off-reserve in the north and 15.5% to 8.8% off reserve in the south, and from 31.4% to 17.1% in Winnipeg. Further, a general decline in social assistance caseloads has continued since the 2001 Census – by a monthly average of 6.2% between 2002 and 2004.[12]

There are distinct differences in dependence on government transfers among Aboriginal groups, corresponding with employment rates. Government transfers were the major source of income for 25.4% of registered Indians and just 10.2% of Metis in 2001. Employment was the major source of income for 65.8% of non-Aboriginal people, for 67.5% of Metis, and for 43.5% of registered Indians.

Government Transfers as Major Source of Income among Manitoba Registered Indians, 1996 and 2001



Major Source of Income for Individuals Aged 15+, 2001



MEDIAN INCOME

In 2001, the median individual income[13] for Aboriginal people aged 15+ was $12,497. Men earned a median income of $13,840, and women $10,603. The medium income for non-Aboriginal people was 74% higher at $21,684.

One reason that Aboriginal incomes are so much lower is that fewer Aboriginal people with employment income work full-time, full-year (FTFY), as compared to the non-Aboriginal population. The other main reason is higher rates of dependence on government transfer. The gap between wages of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal persons working FTFY is much less, but large numbers of Aboriginal people are supported by intermittent or part-time employment and/or social assistance.

Income levels vary among Aboriginal groups depending on labour market statistics and source of income. The Metis median income was $16,550, up sharply from $12,219 in 1996. Part but not all of this startling rise in incomes is due to Census respondents who identified as Metis in 2001 but not in 1996. The median income for Metis men was $20,511, and for women, $14,177. The difference between male and female median incomes among the Metis is similar to that of the general population.

In the 1996 Census, median Metis incomes were approximately the same inside and outside Winnipeg, with the effect that standards of living were lower in Winnipeg due to the higher cost of living. In 2001, the Winnipeg median income was somewhat higher - $17,395 as compared with $15,897 in southern Manitoba and $14,283 in the north. It may therefore be said that Metis standards of living are now as high in Winnipeg as outside Winnipeg.

The median income for Status Indians across the province was just $10,431 in 2001. While this is up from just $8,029 in 1996, it is still less than half of the non-Aboriginal median income. The median income of women exceeds that of men - $10,603 versus $10,263. This highly unusual statistic reflects the large numbers of single mothers on social assistance, at rates often unavoidably exceeding average amounts earned through employment that is often intermittent and/or part-time.

Status Indian median incomes were $13,925 in southern Manitoba off-reserve, $12,062 in northern Manitoba off-reserve, $11,976 in Winnipeg, $9,345 in northern Manitoba on-reserve, and $7,614 in southern Manitoba on-reserve. The areas with the lowest median incomes also have the highest rates of dependence on social assistance, with female incomes exceeding male incomes. In southern Manitoba, the on-reserve median female income was $8,919 versus $6,272 for males, while off-reserve males earned $16,190 versus $12,630 for females. Winnipeg falls between these two extremes – the male median income slightly exceeded the female, at $12,316 versus $11,743.

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

When we speak of a low-income household whose major source of income is government transfers, this household almost usually relies either on social assistance or on old age benefits. While the net effect of government transfers is a redistribution of income toward the lower income sectors, individual government transfer programs differ greatly in their redistributive effect. According to the Canadian Fact Book on Poverty (2000):

> "The highly targeted Child Tax Benefit program delivered 64.9 per cent of benefits to the bottom 40 per cent of families with dependent children in 1997 (Table 8.4). The benefit package for seniors had a more modest redistributive effect: 46.6 per cent of benefits of OAS/GIS/SpA went to the bottom 40 per cent of senior households in 1997 (Table 8.5). Contributory social insurance programs tend to benefit middle-income households. The Canada and Quebec Pension Plans deliver 31.2 per cent of benefits to the poorest 40 per cent of seniors, reflecting the unequal earnings' history of retirees. The Employment Insurance program is the most neutral in its effect on the income distribution of working-age households; each quintile received a roughly equivalent share of program benefits."[14]

Still, "households in the bottom two quintiles - with market incomes under $23,473 - received only 7.9 per cent of market income but 64.9 per cent of all transfer income in 1997."[15] Child

Tax Credits are not a primary source of income, and few Aboriginal people are over age 65. For most Aboriginal people, dependence on government transfers means dependence on social assistance, supplied through the Province off-reserve and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada on-reserve.

More individuals and families receive social assistance at some point during the year than the number who indicate on the Census that transfer payments are their primary source of income year-round. In Manitoba in 1996, 35.6% of Status Indians on-reserve told the Census that transfers was their primary source of income. However, the 1995 Indian and Northern Affairs Canada social assistance rate on-reserve in Manitoba, defined as the monthly average number of beneficiaries divided by the total on-reserve population for that year," was about 53%. In other words, in any given month, 53% of on-reserve families are on social assistance for at least part of the month.

INCOME ADEQUACY

With median incomes so far below the norm, one supposes that large numbers of Aboriginal individuals and families are living in poverty by Canadian standards. There is, however, no agreed on definition of poverty.

The most commonly used "poverty" indicators are Statistics Canada's low-income cutoffs (LICOs), which are based upon the relative proportion of family income spent on food, clothing and shelter, and which vary according to family size and size of community. However, Statistics Canada does not refer to LICOs as poverty indicators, and what they appear to measure is income inequalities, not poverty in any absolute sense.[16]

For purposes of this publication, we will refer to people or families as "having incomes below the LICO" in their community, or "low-income families," rather than families "living in poverty." The distinction, however, may be moot to the extent that it is relative or perceived deprivation, and not absolute poverty, which works its deleterious effects on the life chances of low income people – on health indicators or educational achievement for example.

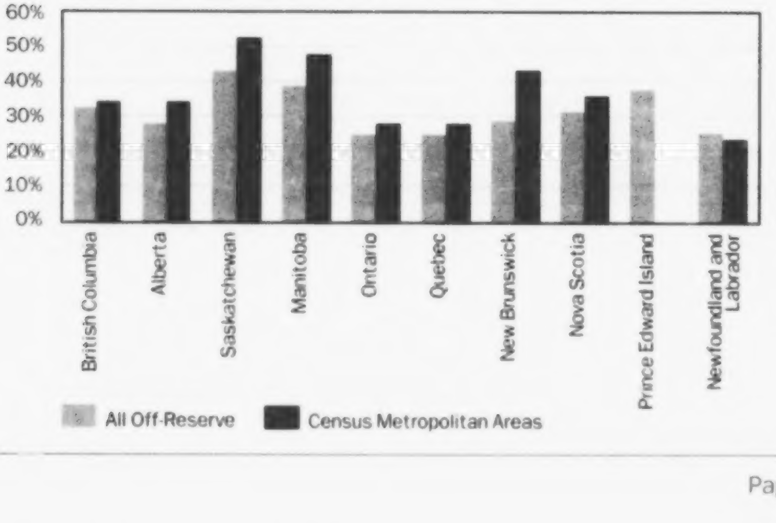
Regardless of possible inadequacies or biases in the LICO indicator, there are strikingly higher numbers of Aboriginal low-income households in Manitoba and Saskatchewan than elsewhere in the country. Excluding reserves, 39% of Aboriginal families in Manitoba had incomes below the LICO, compared to the national average of 31.1%.[17]

In most provinces, the incidence of low income among Aboriginal families is substantially higher in large cities than in other off-reserve locations. Statistics show that 47.7% of Winnipeg Aboriginal families live in low-income households, compared to the national average of 37% in Census Metropolitan Areas. Only in Saskatchewan did a higher proportion of urban Aboriginal families live below the low-income cut-off.

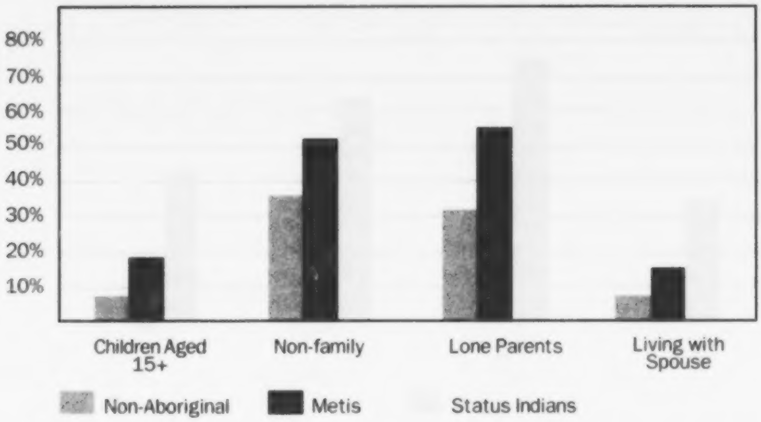
The low-income rate for non-Aboriginal people in Manitoba fell from 17.3% in 1996 to 14.6% in 2001, and this decrease was mirrored across all Aboriginal groups in the province. Among off-reserve persons aged 15 or older,[18] the Metis rate fell from 36.4% to 27.3%, the rate among Status Indians from 61.1% to 50.9%, and among non-Status Indians from 45.5% to 42.8%. These decreases in the incidence of low income can be attributed to increased employment and fewer families on social assistance.

Among all groups, there is less incidence of low income among couples and children living with their families, and higher incidence among single parents and "non-family" persons.[19]

Low Income Status of Off-Reserve Aboriginal Economic Family Persons Aged 15+ by Province, 2001



Low Income Status by Aboriginal Group and Family Status, Off-Reserve Aged 15+, 2001

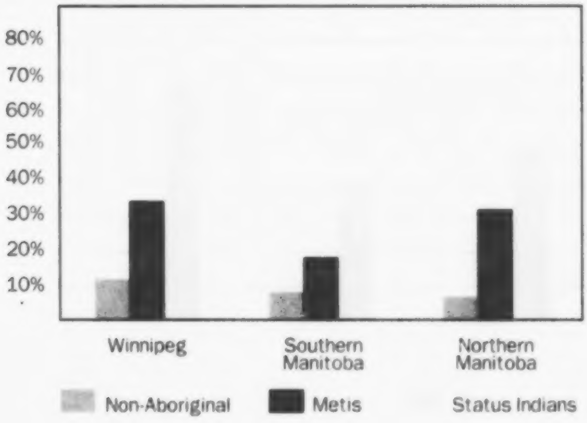


For Aboriginal people, as for non-Aboriginal people, there is a greater incidence of low-income status in Winnipeg as opposed to off-reserve outside Winnipeg. The lowest rates are found in southern Manitoba outside Winnipeg, where a clear majority of all groups live above the Statistics Canada Low-Income Cutoff. Off-reserve in the north, there are fewer non-Aboriginal people below the LICO, but greater numbers of Aboriginal people. Metis low-income figures more resemble non-Aboriginal figures in the south and Status Indian figures in the north.

Relatively speaking, very high rates of low-income status can be found in Winnipeg, especially among Status Indians, of whom over two-thirds live below the LICO. Within the inner city, or among people whose family status is "non-family" or lone parent, the incidence of low-income is higher still.

In absolute terms, however, the low-income rate for Aboriginal lone parent families, inside or outside Winnipeg, is appalling. Provincially, 75% of off-reserve Status Indian lone parents (and their children) fall below the LICO, as do 56% of Metis single parents. This is a significant improvement over the situation that existed in 1996, when 89% of Status and 82% of Metis single parents were in low-income situations. However, the huge gap between average income levels for children, depending on whether they live in one- or two-parent families, remains.

Low Income Status by Aboriginal Group and Location, Off-Reserve Aged 15+, 2001



There is, by the way, nothing inevitable about low-income for lone-parent households. First World countries vary remarkably in this regard. The 1993 Luxembourg Income Study[20] documented the proportion of various sorts of households receiving income less than 50% of the country's median income after transfers and taxes. The differences reflect not market forces, but the political priority placed on reducing child poverty. Their results were as follows:

RELATIVE LOW-INCOME RATES CANADA 1990, SELECTED COUNTRIES

County	Female Lone Parent	Couples with Children	All Non-Elderly Households
Sweden	6	3	12
The Netherlands	11	5	5
Belgium	17	14	5
Italy	21	8	9
France	22	8	9
United Kingdon	30	15	12
Germany	39	6	9
Canada	52	11	15
United States	60	14	19
Australia	66	12	16

In Manitoba, many individuals and families below the low-income cutoff are much below it. A 2002 publication of the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg on child poverty in Manitoba noted that:

> Manitoba two-parent families with children living in poverty require, on average, $9,838 of additional income to meet the poverty line. The situation is even worse for families headed by single women, who require an average of $10,090 to meet the poverty line. This $10,090 shortfall represents the greatest depth of poverty among families headed by single women in any province. Poor Manitoba families headed by single women are 18.6% deeper in poverty than the national average.[21]

In 2001, Manitoba also had the highest percentage of low-income households with children that had persisted below the LICO for six or more years – 9.5% as compared to the national average of just over 5%.[22] In short, Manitoba is noteworthy among provinces not only for the prevalence of "child poverty," but also its depth and persistence. Of course, this is primarily the result of the education and labour market characteristics of Manitoba's relatively large Aboriginal population.

Next to Newfoundland and Labrador, Manitoba has the highest proportion of persons and families using food banks – 42,000 in 2003, or 3.6% of the population. This was a 10% increase over 2002 and a 182% increase over 1997. Children make up about 40% of food bank users., While 13% of food bank users are employed full time, 6% are on employment insurance and 54% are on social assistance.[23]

ON-RESERVE INCOME

We have discussed comparative labour market and income statistics for Winnipeg and off-reserve outside Winnipeg. It is more difficult to make valid comparisons with on-reserve statistics, because we lack the analytic tools, concepts and data to fully describe and comprehend on-reserve patterns of employment and income adequacy. The monthly Labour Force Survey reports specifically exclude on-reserve residents, and the Statistics Canada LICO is not applicable to on-reserve situations.[24]

Just as income on-reserve is relatively disconnected from employment, so income adequacy is disconnected from cash or gross income. This is true to the extent that:

- housing and other goods and services are provided by the Band administration, and not directly purchased or rented by the user;
- incomes are exempt from income tax, and goods and services from sales tax; and
- resources traditionally extracted from the land, especially by hunting and fishing, may supplement income.

While these factors may make sustenance possible on-reserve at lower income levels, it is also the case that store-bought food, fuel, and other goods that must be transported to often-isolated reserves will cost substantially more than in the southern urban areas. Manitoba Agriculture and Food has estimated that a food basket consisting of the typical monthly nutritional requirement for a family of four, which would cost $483 in Winnipeg, would cost $568 in Thompson, but an average $833 in northern centres outside Thompson.[25] Similarly, travel, where not subsidized by authorities as in the case of medical evacuation, can be much more expensive.

All of these factors, which in addition vary from reserve to reserve, complicate the development of concepts and data amenable to analysis of on-reserve income adequacy. It is commonly understood and accepted that many First Nations are impoverished communities, and perhaps extremely impoverished communities, but there does not appear to be any research which sets out to compare poverty levels and patterns among on and off-reserve Aboriginal communities.

Having said this, the median income for Status Indian individuals aged 15+ and living on-reserve in 2001 was $7,614 in the south and $9,345 in the north. Incomes at this level are de facto non-taxable, due to personal, child and other exemptions and deductions. Paradoxically, the income tax-exempt status of on-reserve earnings provides little tangible benefit to the majority of Status people with average or below average incomes (though sales tax exemptions provide benefits to all).

By comparison, the median income in Winnipeg was $11,976 - $4,361 more than southern reserves and $2,631 more than northern reserves. The differences amount to, respectively, 37% and 22% of the Winnipeg income. However, 44% of Status Indians in Winnipeg spend over 30% of their income on shelter costs, ordinarily covered by the Band administration on-reserve. In fact, the proportion of income spent on housing generally increases among the poorest families, such as single parents. Food and other consumables may cost more on-reserve and especially in the north, but this may be offset by the availability of traditional resources.

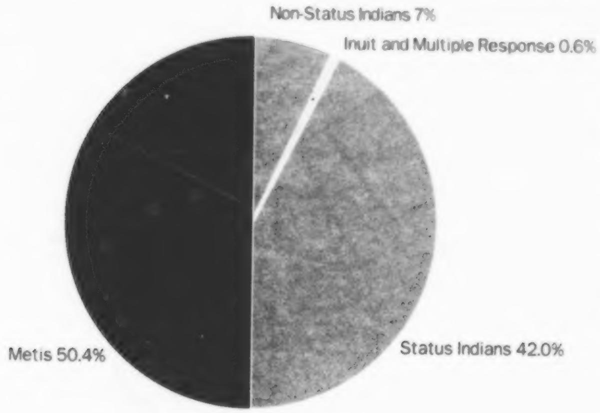
In short, the Census provides no evidence that the incomes on-reserve are either more or less adequate than among Status Indians in Winnipeg. In both settings, median incomes are extremely low by Canadian standards, and a majority of families and individuals subsist on incomes below an equivalent of the Statistics Canada LICO. Status Indians living off-reserve outside Winnipeg appear to have a higher average standard of living than their counterparts elsewhere, either in Winnipeg or on-reserve.

FOCUS: WINNIPEG

Fifty years ago, in the 1951 Census, only 210 of Winnipeg's population of 354,000 were identified as registered Indians. The Metis were not counted in those days. By the time a comprehensive survey of Winnipeg's Aboriginal population was made in 1958, there were 1,200 Indians and 3,500 Metis. This was about 1% of the city's population, though the Metis were probably undercounted.

In 1958, 58% of the Indian population had lived in the city for less than three years. About 20% of the Metis had lived in Winnipeg less than three years, and 45% had lived here more than ten years. Most recent arrivals stated they had come to the city to find work, and 83% of men who indicated this reason were employed at the time of the interview. Overall, 55% of Aboriginal respondents were employed.[1] *The employment rate is lower now: 47% for men and 35.2% for women.*

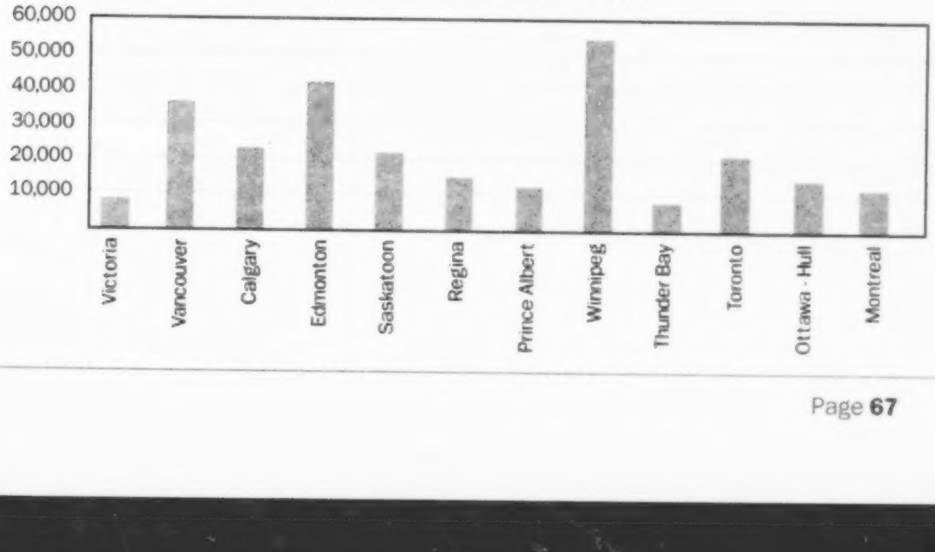
Winnipeg's Aboriginal population has continued to increase – due to a high birth rate and decreasing mortality rate, increasing Aboriginal self-identification and, prior to the 1990s, net in-migration from rural areas. By the 2001 Census, 55,755 North American Indian, Metis or Inuit people lived in the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Winnipeg, and 51,720 within the City itself.



Of these, about 42% indicated registration under the Indian Act, and another 50% indicated Metis identity. Winnipeg has the largest Metis community in Canada, comprising just over 50% of the Metis population in Manitoba. Non-Status Indians were the third largest group, at 7%.

Winnipeg has the largest self-identified Aboriginal population of any Census Metropolitan Area in Canada, by a considerable margin. Of Winnipeg 2001 Census respondents, 89% who indicated Aboriginal ancestry, in whole or in part, also identified themselves as members of one of Canada's three Constitutional Aboriginal groups – North American Indian, Metis and Inuit. Saskatchewan cities, as well as Thunder Bay, showed a similar degree of self-identification, with other western and northern Ontario cities in the 65% to 75% range. Among eastern cities, only 46% of respondents with known Aboriginal ancestry self-identified as Aboriginal in Toronto, 32% in Halifax, and 22% in Montreal.[2]

Canada's 12 Largest Urban Aboriginal Communities, Census Metropolitan Areas and Urban Conglomerations, 2001 Census

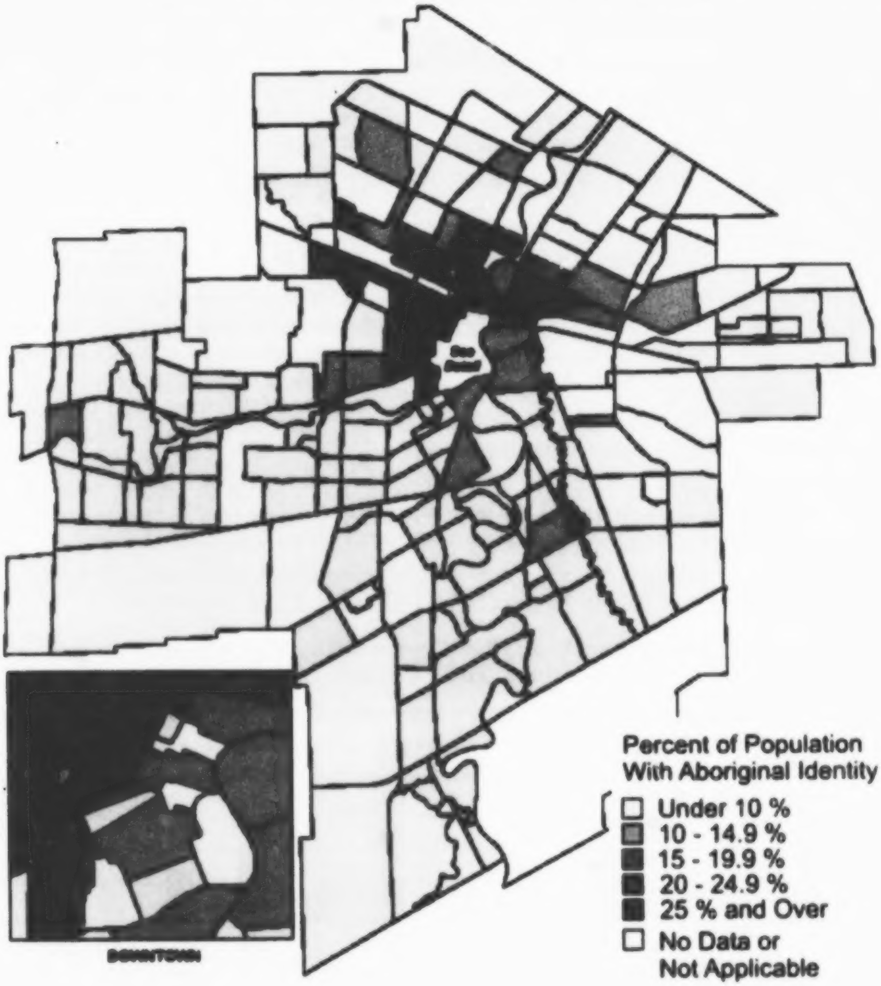


As well as being the largest Aboriginal community in Canada, Aboriginal people in Winnipeg make up a larger proportion of the population than in most large Canadian cities. Self-identified Aboriginal people comprise less than 0.5% of the population of Toronto and Montreal, 1.9% in Vancouver and 2.3% in Calgary, rising to 4.4% in Edmonton, 6.8% in Thunder Bay, 8.3% in Regina and 8.4% in Winnipeg. Only the Saskatchewan urban centres of Saskatoon and Prince Albert have a higher proportion of Aboriginal people (9.1% and 29.2% respectively).

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Aboriginal people live throughout the city; however many are concentrated in the inner city district, where 19% of residents are Aboriginal as compared to 6% in the remainder of the city.[3] *Aboriginal people account for over 20% of the population of 18 of the city's 166 Census tracts, over 30% in eight, and over 40% in three.*[4] *Still, over two-thirds of Aboriginal people live in areas of the city that are less than 20% Aboriginal.*

Aborginal Identity, City of Winnipeg, 2001 Census


DOWNTOWN
Percent of Population
With Aboriginal Identity
□ Under 10 %
▨ 10 - 14.9 %
▨ 15 - 19.9 %
■ 20 - 24.9 %
■ 25 % and Over
□ No Data or
Not Applicable

The inner city of Winnipeg is an area characterized by a number of long-term demographic and economic trends related to the increasing Aboriginal population. From 1981 to 1996,[5] the proportion of the population under the age of six increased from 25.7% to 31.4%, the proportion of families headed by single parents increased from 17.5% to 27.1%, and the overall labour market participation rate dropped from 63.5% to 58.4%. The unemployment rate for single parents who participate in the labour market increased from 11.6% to 24.3% during this period. The proportion of inner city families considered low-income increased from 32.6% in 1971, to 39.5% in 1986, to 50.8% in 1996. Among inner city Aboriginal households in 1996, 80.3% received less than the Low-Income Cut-Off (LICO).

Families with incomes under the LICO are often referred to in the media or in government reports, as "living in poverty." While this designation is controversial, there was a nine-fold increase in the number of families using food banks between 1987 and 1997. During this same period, the use of food banks across Canada "only" doubled.[6]

The core area of Winnipeg can be unsafe for its residents. Manitoba Health has reported that "the hospitalization rate for violence by others was 6.6 times higher in core area than for non-core area residents. The hospitalization rate for violence to self was 2.1 times higher."[7]

Not surprisingly, Aboriginal people living outside the core area enjoy higher education and income levels, lower unemployment and more stable housing. The following table gives 1996 data for Aboriginal people age 15+ in selected neighbourhoods, sorted by median income[8], with Winnipeg total population data at bottom for comparison:

	% Married	**% Education > Grade 12**	**% Moved in Past Year**	**Unemployment Rate Median Income**
Downtown	14	33	45	$8,222
Point Douglas	17	23	41	$8,337
Inkster	32	31	35	$11,092
Seven Oaks	29	45	33	$13,087
River East	32	38	37	$13,436
St. Boniface	36	42	30	$14,821
St. James	33	41	36	$15,470
St. Vital	36	42	31	$15,579
Fort Garry	43	51	28	$17,362
ALL WINNIPEG RESIDENTS	51	53	16	$19,950

In all neighbourhoods, Aboriginal people are more transient and have unemployment rates significantly above average. However, in suburban neighbourhoods, the education and income levels of Aboriginal people are considerably high and approach city averages.

Married Aboriginal people with jobs and sufficient incomes appear to be following their non-Aboriginal counterparts out of the inner city, just as soon as they can afford the higher rents. In the inner city districts of Downtown and Point Douglas, only 14% and 17% respectively of Aboriginal adults were married. This compares with province-wide averages of 34.5% for Metis and 32.3% for First Nations.9 Both single parents and unattached individuals are over-represented in the inner city.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

A particular characteristic of the Aboriginal population in Winnipeg is the relatively high proportion of single parent families. Though only 24% of Manitoba Status Indians live within the municipal bounds of the city, 34% of Status single parents live there. The other side of the coin is that only 46% of Status single parents live on-reserve, though 57% of the total Status population lives there. Metis single parents are also concentrated in Winnipeg: 60% live in Winnipeg, though only 50% of the total Metis population lives there.

Although Aboriginal people comprise just 8.3% of Winnipeg's population, 18.3% of Winnipeg's single parents are Aboriginal. To the extent that Aboriginal children in single parent families are "at risk" of various negative life outcomes, these risks and these outcomes are centred in Winnipeg. Low income, high shelter costs, and frequent residential moves are particular issues for these families.

This is characteristic of Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) in general. Nationally, 23% of Aboriginal children live with a lone parent, rising to 32% on-reserve, 40% in smaller cities, and 46% in CMAs with population over 100,000.[10]

PROGRAM DELIVERY

The Manitoba Metis Federation (MMF) is composed of seven regions; one of these, the Winnipeg Metis Association, is specifically oriented to serve its members and other Aboriginal people residing in Winnipeg. But program and service delivery to Status Indians residing in Winnipeg is often problematic, because they belong to a large number of different bands and Tribal Councils, including out-of-province.

Bands belonging to the Interlake Reserves Tribal Council have 3,300 members in Winnipeg, Southeast Resource Development Council 2,300 members, and Dakota-Ojibway Tribal Council 1,500 members. The other four Tribal Councils each have less than 1,000 members in Winnipeg, and 4,300 First Nation members belong to Bands not affiliated with any Tribal Council. The largest are Sagkeeng with 1,800 members in Winnipeg, and Peguis with 1,600. Several bands have 400-800 members in Winnipeg, including Brokenhead (800), Fairford (700), Norway House (600), Fisher River (600), Long Plain (500), St. Theresa Point (500), Sandy Bay (450) and Pine Creek (400).[11]

During the 1990s, a number of service delivery agencies for Aboriginal people located at the Aboriginal Centre, in the former Canadian Pacific Railway station at the corner of Main Street and Higgins Avenue. These agencies deliver services in a "status-blind" fashion; that is, without regard to whether the person is Status or non-Status Indian, or Inuit or Metis. During 1999, the MMF also located its provincial headquarters in this area, and an attractive new building called the Thunderbird House has been constructed. It is intended to be a spiritual and cultural centre for Aboriginal residents of Winnipeg.

CHAPTER 7: HOUSING AND MOBILITY

Between 1996 and 2001, there were significant decreases in the proportion of Aboriginal households renting accommodations, in those spending over 30% of gross income on shelter costs, and in those living in overcrowded situations (as defined by two or more persons per bedroom). There was not, however, any corresponding decrease in the numbers of people in accommodations requiring major repairs. On all housing variables, Aboriginal people continue to be disadvantaged in comparison with the non-Aboriginal population.[1]

Aboriginal status	**% renters**		**% shelter costs > 30%**		**% 2+ persons per bedroom**		**% needing major repairs**	
	1996	**2001**	**1996**	**2001**	**1996**	**2001**	**1996**	**2001**
Non-Aboriginal	22.9	21.2	13.8	12.7	3.6	2.5	9.3	9.5
Metis	47.2	40.3	25.1	19.5	6.5	3.4	17.5	17.4
Off-Reserve Status	73.6	68.6	41.5	32.1	11.1	7.7	18.6	19.7
On-Reserve Status	-	-	-	-	12.2	N/A	41.4	30.6*

N/A = data not available

HOMEOWNERSHIP

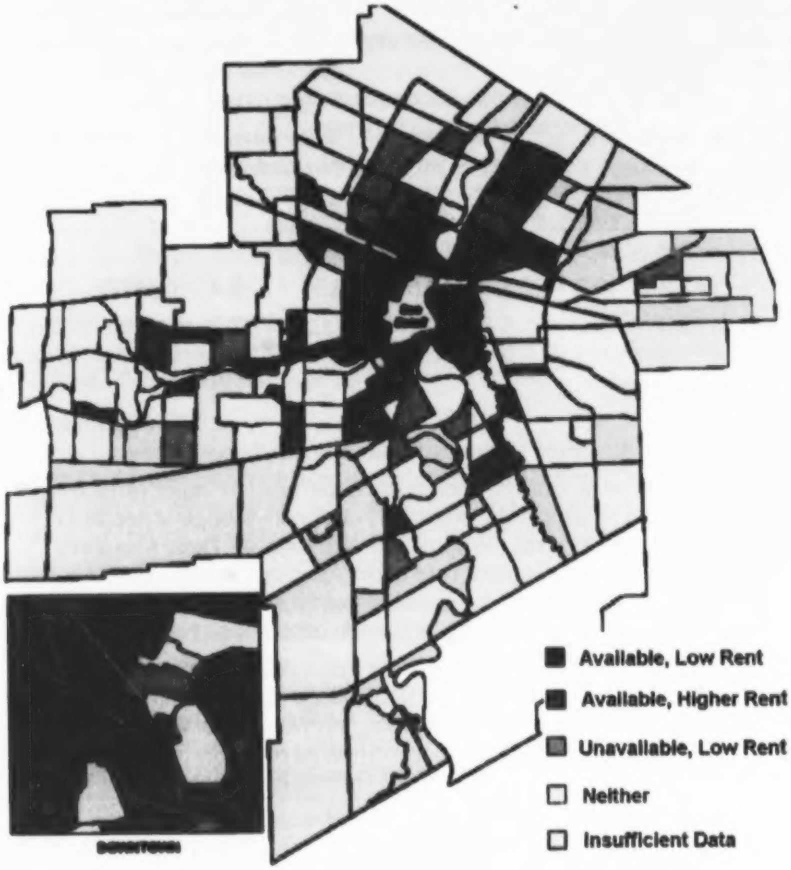
Because of lower incomes and other factors, Aboriginal people have far lower rates of homeownership than non-Aboriginal people do. Where 82.4% of non-Aboriginal people in Manitoba reside in owner-occupied housing, the same is true of only 42.7% of Aboriginal people living off-reserve. Metis have the highest rate of homeownership among the Aboriginal groups – 55.8%, compared to 41.1% for non-Status Indians and just 24.2% for off-reserve Status Indians. On-reserve, over 80% of Status Indians live in band-owned housing.

Metis in Winnipeg are more likely to be renters than their rural counterparts, at least those residing in southern Manitoba. Of Winnipeg Metis families, 53.2% rent as compared to 29.3% among southern Metis outside Winnipeg, and 20.6% among non-Aboriginal Winnipeggers. Of the 1,500 Metis families in the north, 47.3% rent as compared to 19.5% of non-Aboriginal northerners.

Only 15.6% of Status Indian families in Winnipeg live in owner-occupied housing, and 84.4% rent. Homeownership among this group has actually declined slightly from 1996, when 16.7% owned their homes. Therefore, the distribution of rental housing in Winnipeg along with its pricing largely determines the distribution of Status Indians in the city, leading to a pattern of de facto ethnic segregation. To a lesser degree, this applies to Metis as well. The following city map shows those Census districts that have average monthly rents under $500 and/or homeownership rates of 60% or less.[2]

Comparing this with the Aboriginal population density map in the previous chapter, in the northwest quadrant of the city which includes the inner core, the districts with a great deal of low-cost rental property are almost identical with those having an Aboriginal population of 20% or greater. Adjacent to this area, there are districts in which either higher rents, or higher rates of homeownership, or both, deter higher proportions of Aboriginal population. A few districts that are farther removed from the inner core also have relatively low Aboriginal population, despite the availability of low cost rentals (e.g. parts of St. Boniface and Fort Rouge).

Prevalence of Affordable Rental Housing



Neighbourhoods in this inner core area "often have the oldest and poorest quality housing stock. Many buyers do not have the financial resources to renovate them, and others choose not to make improvements for a variety of reasons (e.g. holding property purely for speculative business purposes, low area vacancy rate). As a result many inner city residents live in substandard housing because they are unable to afford quality housing in the private market. The demand for subsidized housing outweighs the supply because there is no funding to build new units."[3]

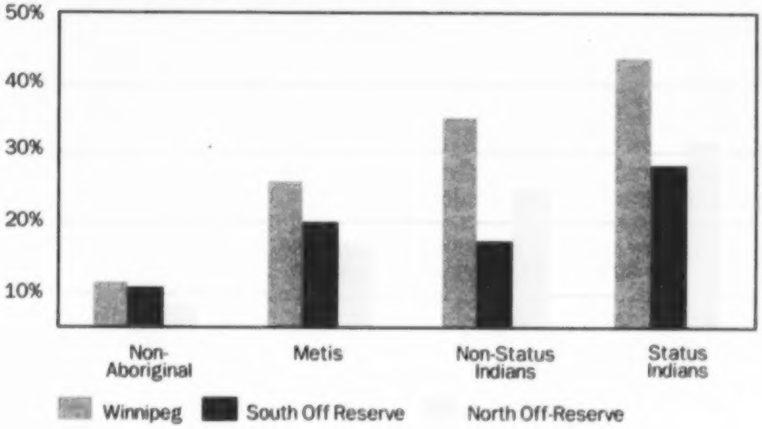
SHELTER COSTS

A high percentage of family income spent on shelter costs is often an indicator of economic need, because of less disposable income. While families with lower incomes tend to rent or buy less expensive housing, local housing markets limit the degree to which shelter costs can be reduced, and therefore the proportion of income spent on housing increases.

Of non-Aboriginal Manitoba households in 2001, only 11.1% spent over 30% of their income on shelter, a little lower among homeowners and a little higher among renters. Aboriginal people, as we have seen, have lower average incomes, larger families with more young children, and fewer people in older age categories who may have paid off mortgages. Off-reserve Aboriginal families are more likely to rent than own their homes. As a result, 29.3% of Aboriginal households pay over 30% of income and shelter costs. Among Aboriginal groups, the numbers are 22.7% of Metis, 28.8% of non-Status Indians, and 38.2% of off-reserve Status Indians.

In Winnipeg, the difference between the numbers of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people spending over 30% on shelter costs are even greater – 34% compared to 11.6%. Outside Winnipeg the shelter cost "squeeze" is less common among Aboriginal households – 22.2% in the south and 26.3% in the north. In all areas, fewer Metis and more Status Indians spend over 30% of their income on shelter.

Shelter Costs Greater than 30% of Income, by Aboriginal Group and Location, 2001



HOUSING CONDITIONS AND CROWDING OFF-RESERVE

Among non-Aboriginal households in Manitoba, 30.7% reported in the 2001 Census a need for "minor repairs" to their houses; 9.3% needed "major repairs," with 60% reportedly needing no repairs at all. While this determination is somewhat subjective, Aboriginal people were less sanguine on the subject of housing condition. Across Manitoba, 34.3% of Aboriginal people off-reserve reported needing minor repairs, and 18.9% needed major repairs, with just 46.7% requiring no repairs.

In northern Manitoba, 25.7% of Aboriginal people required major housing repairs, compared to 15.5% in Winnipeg and 19.9% in the south outside Winnipeg. There was little difference among off-reserve Aboriginal groups in this respect: 17.5% of Metis, 20.1% of non-Status Indians and 20.5% of Status Indians required major repairs in 2001.

One way that Census data is used to measure crowding, and to assess whether or not a housing shortage is in evidence, is by comparing the number of persons per bedroom. Many households have one or fewer people per bedroom – in which case, the household may have "extra bedrooms" or bedrooms being used for other purposes. A house with one to two persons per bedroom is not necessarily overcrowded. But a house with more than two persons per bedroom almost certainly is, because it means that somewhere there are three or more persons sleeping in a single room, or else one or more persons sleeping in a room not intended to be used as a bedroom.

Of non-Aboriginal households in Manitoba, 64.8% have one or fewer persons per bedroom, 33% have one to two, and only 2.2% have more than 2 persons per bedroom. The average non-Aboriginal household is less crowded than at any time in past history, and much less crowded than during the 1950 to 1970 "baby boom".

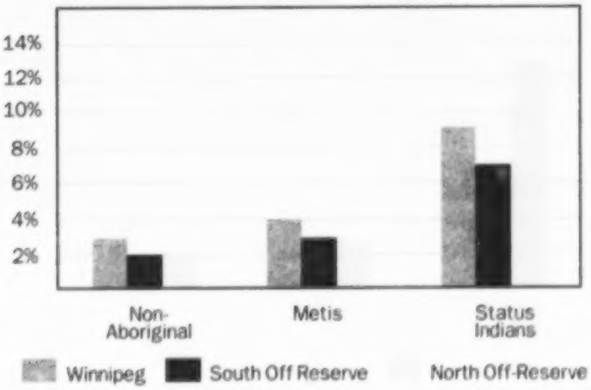
By contrast, 39.9% of registered Indians off-reserve have one or fewer persons per bedroom, 50.3% one to two persons, and 9.8% over two persons. The Metis numbers fall in between: 53%, 43.2% and 3.8%.

All told, 5.8% of off-reserve Aboriginal families live in overcrowded conditions according to this definition, or about 1,235 families – two- thirds of which are Status Indian and one third Metis. By the same definition, 5,450 non-Aboriginal families live in overcrowded conditions. Aboriginal homes are two to three times more likely to be overcrowded by this definition, but this may simply be the result of younger and larger families.

In general, Winnipeg housing is slightly more crowded than outside Winnipeg, which reflects higher housing costs and the shelter cost "squeeze" described above. This is the case both for non-Aboriginal and Metis people.

Among Status Indians, however, the number of households with two or more persons per bedroom in Winnipeg is actually less than the provincial average: 9.1% versus 9.8%. This is due to the larger numbers of Status Indians in the north, where 13% of off-reserve households have two or more persons per bedroom. Overcrowding among Status Indians in the north is a situation that applies both on and off-reserve.

Two or More Persons per Bedroom,
by Aboriginal Group and Location



Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) defines a household as in "core housing need" if its dwelling needs major repairs, does not have enough bedrooms, or if shelter costs exceed 30% of pre-tax household income. In some households, two or more of these conditions apply. Further, a household is defined as in core housing need only if alternate suitable housing is unavailable locally at less than 30% of its household income.[4] By this definition, 15% of Manitoba non-Aboriginal households were found to be in core housing need based on 1996 Census data, which compared favourably to a national average of 18%.

Nationally, 27% of Metis households were in core housing need, and Manitoba Metis were close to the average at 28%. Of Status and non-Status Indians off-reserve, the national average was 34%. But Manitoba and Saskatchewan were far above the national average, with 43% of this group in core housing need. The average gross income of off-reserve Indian families in core housing need was $12,9065 - 30% of this gross income translates to a monthly rental cost of $318.50. Not surprisingly, most of these families were classified as being in core need to spend over 30% of their gross income on shelter.

ON-RESERVE HOUSING

We have noted that one half of Status Indians, and over 80% on-reserve, live in Band housing. The Census does not gather comprehensive shelter cost data for on-reserve housing and, "therefore it is possible to examine their housing conditions in relation to only two housing standards (suitability and adequacy); housing affordability and core housing need cannot be examined."[6]

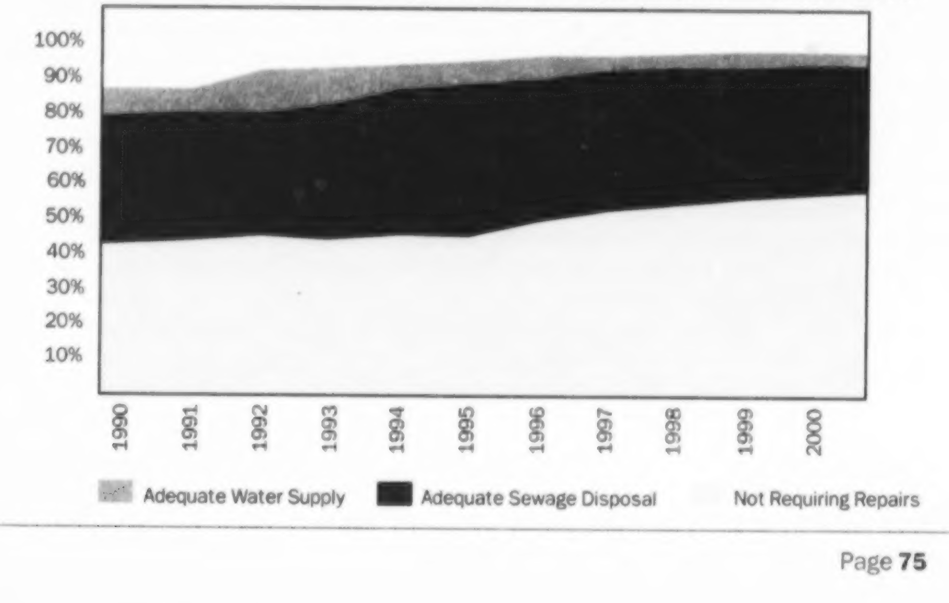
In Manitoba, CMHC found that 42% of on-reserve households met both standards, less than the national average of 50% and similar to numbers in Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Northwest Territories. Of the remainder, 25% were in houses needing major repairs, 17% in houses with insufficient bedrooms, and 16% in houses failing to meet both standards. CMHC also concluded that the number of households in houses not meeting one or both standards fell from 65% in 1991 to 50% in 1996, nationally.

An update using 2001 Census figures has not yet been done. However, available 1996 Census data shows that, on average, Status Indians on-reserve are a little more likely to live in overcrowded housing than Status Indians off-reserve, but much more likely to live in housing requiring major repairs.[7]

Through the 1990s, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada spent in the range of $150 million annually for on-reserve housing nationally, supplemented by about $110 million from CMHC. According to INAC, its housing program was designed to provide subsidies to construction and major renovations projects, but due to restricted private capital,

> ...the prevailing legal and social limitations have meant that what was supposed to be only a subsidy has become the principle source of construction funding ...Reliance on federal subsidies ...(has) meant construction of smaller houses. Often these houses were built to minimal standards and not able to withstand severe weather conditions ...The lack of community-wide rental regimes on most reserves means that there are few if any resources with which to carry out essential maintenance and repairs. In combination with the often modest initial construction, the result is a housing stock which has deteriorated rapidly.[8]

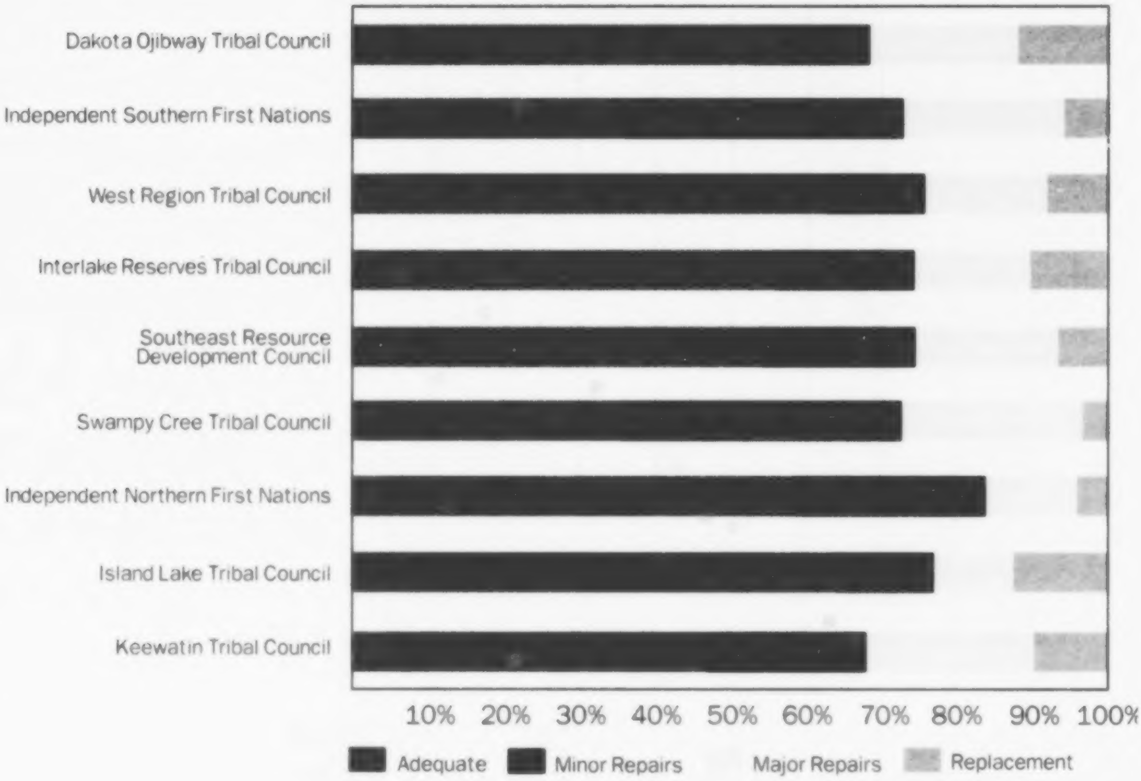
On-Reserve Housing and Infrastructure Statistics, Canada 1990-2000



Thirty years of "catch-up" housing construction on-reserve have, to some extent, alleviated deficiencies in the on-reserve housing supply, and may have contributed to increased population stability and decreased migration to off-reserve locations. However, housing conditions and suitability on-reserve remain serious concerns.

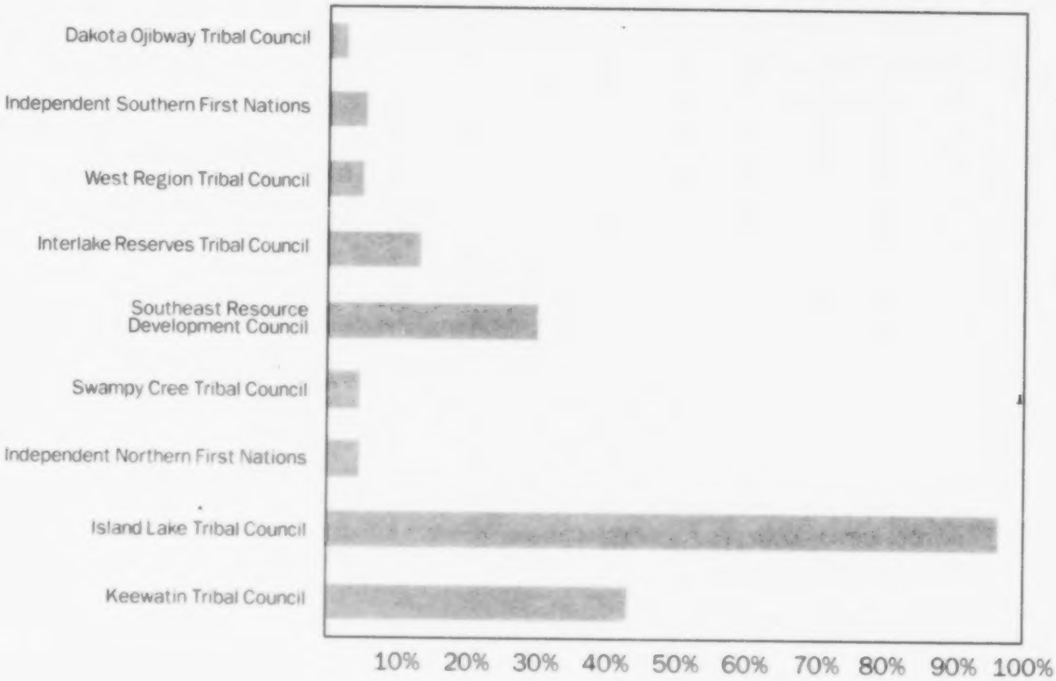
Regardless, between 20% to 30% of houses on most First Nations in Manitoba require either major repairs or replacement:[9]

Need for Housing Repairs by Tribal Councils (listed South to North) INAC Data 1998/99



While there does not seem to be a much north/south variation in on-reserve housing condition, lack of access to modern plumbing is strongly associated with relative geographic isolation:

Percent of units Lacking Modern Plumbing Systems by Tribal Council (listed South to North), INAC Data 1999



MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

According to the 2001 Census, 51% of Aboriginal residents of Manitoba had moved within the past five years. This is compared to only 37% of all Manitobans. 21% had moved within the past year, compared to 12% of all Manitobans. However, Aboriginal people are not greatly more migratory than other Manitobans, as is often supposed. Rather, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations demonstrate different patterns of mobility, and there are distinct differences in mobility rates among Aboriginal groups in different locations.

Much of this apparent movement consisted of changes of address within the same municipality, particularly movement from one rented accommodation to another in urban settings. We will refer to persons who lived at a different address within the same municipality one or five years previous as "movers," and those who lived in a different municipality as "migrants."

The following table, broken down by group and place of residence in 2001, shows the percentages of Census respondents who had lived in a different municipality five years earlier:

2001 Residence	Non-Aboriginal	Metis	Status Indian	Total Aboriginal
MANITOBA	**13.7**	**16.4**	**16.2**	**16.6**
Winnipeg	10.6	10.7	19.7	14.8
North Off-Reserve	17.7	18.2	29.1	24.9
South Off-Reserve	18.3	23.1	36.3	27.7
North On-Reserve	-	-	7.8	-
South On-Reserve	-	-	13.8	-

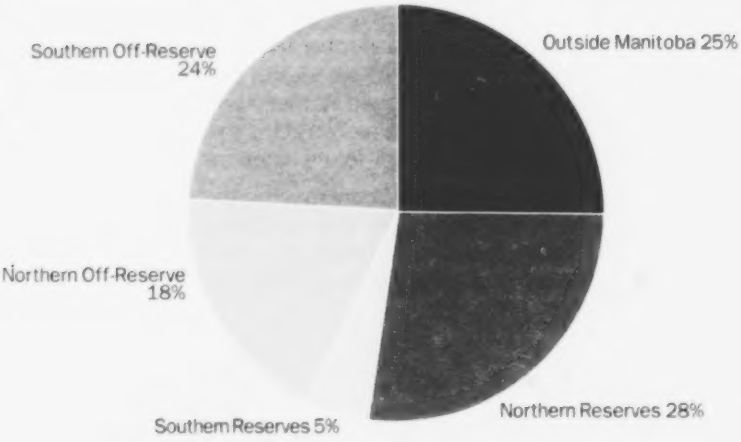
The Aboriginal five-year migration (as opposed to moving) rate was 16.6% in 2001, compared to 13.7% for the non-Aboriginal population. In Manitoba, two significant Aboriginal groups show migration rates below the provincial non-Aboriginal average - Status Indians on-reserve in the North (7.8%), and Metis in Winnipeg (10.7%).

Metis migration rates are about the same as non-Aboriginal rates in Winnipeg and the north, and about 25% higher in the south outside Winnipeg. The overall provincial rate for Status Indians is actually a bit lower than the Metis rate. The large numbers of Status Indians on-reserve in the north, who are relatively non-migratory, pull down the provincial average. But very high rates of migration are found among Status Indians off-reserve, especially outside Winnipeg – 29% in the north and 36% in the south.

At 19.7%, Status Indians living in Winnipeg were almost twice as likely to have moved from outside the city in the past five years as Metis or non-Aboriginal residents. As noted, a similar number leaving Winnipeg for other locations, reserves in most cases, offset these 3,745 Status migrants to Winnipeg. This is population "churn," a movement of large numbers of people from one to location to another, but with little net migration trend.

Among Status Indian migrants to Winnipeg, 42% arrived from other off-reserve locations within Manitoba, 33% from Manitoba reserves, and 25% from outside the province (especially northwest Ontario).

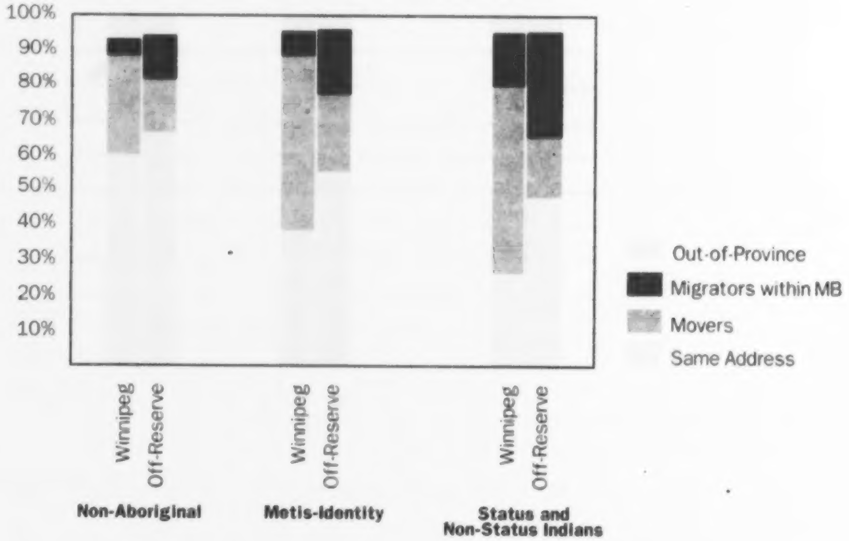
Origin of 3,745 Status Indian Migrants to Winnipeg, 1996-2001



Off-reserve outside Winnipeg, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike are more likely to have lived at the same address five years earlier. They are also more likely to have migrated from a different municipality/Census District. They are far less likely, in other words, to have moved from one dwelling to another within the same municipality. Of all Aboriginal people off-reserve outside Winnipeg, 51% lived at the same address five years earlier, 24% elsewhere in the municipality, 22% elsewhere in Manitoba, and 5% out-of-province. The following chart compares residency patterns in and outside Winnipeg for (left to right) non-Aboriginal people, Metis-identity people, and North American Indian identity people: [10]

Migration rates appear to be inversely correlated to net migration rates. Where migration is highest, off-reserve outside Winnipeg especially in the south, there is a net out-migration. Where migration is lowest, on-reserve especially in the north, there is a net in-migration. Winnipeg falls between the two extremes.

Residence Five Years Earlier, Winnipeg and Off-Reserve Outside Winnipeg, 2001



CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANT POPULATION

The Census question asking residence five years earlier does not yield a representative picture of recent and/or frequent migrants, the subjects of this "population churn." Many persons, in fact, may have moved several times during the five-year period, from reserve to city or vice versa, or may have moved but returned to the same location as five years earlier on Census day, and therefore not be captured at all.

The Census question asking residence one year earlier provides a better representation of recent migrants. At the time of the 2001 Census, 1,060 Aboriginal recent migrants (aged 15+) resided on-reserve, 2,165 in Winnipeg, 2,900 off-reserve outside Winnipeg. These 6,125 recent migrants represented 6.4% of the Aboriginal working age population.

While 33% of the Aboriginal population is on-reserve, just 17% of recent migrants live there. Almost half (47.3%) of recent migrants were found off-reserve outside Winnipeg, though only 31% of the Aboriginal population lives there. Therefore, the Aboriginal migrant population is disproportionately located in off-reserve settings outside Winnipeg, especially small urban centres. In other words, the migrants are clustered where adequate and / or Aboriginal-specific programs and services are least likely to be located.

Aboriginal migrants identified by the 2001 Census were, by and large, a young group, with 54% aged 15-29 and 24.5% aged 30-39. Almost 80% of Aboriginal recent migrants are aged 15-39, while just 62% of the Aboriginal working age population is in this age group. (Non-Aboriginal migrants are also clustered in this age group).

Single parents and persons in non-family situations are over-represented among migrants, while couples and never married young persons living with parents are under-represented. Single parent families are particularly over-represented among migrants to urban areas, especially Winnipeg.[11] The migrants are relatively well educated, with 54% having Grade 12 or better as compared with 43% of the non-migrant Aboriginal population.

In 2004, the Institute of Urban Studies (IUS), in collaboration with the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (AMC) and the Manitoba Metis Federation (MMF), published a study of the results of a longitudinal survey conducted over a period of 15 months with Aboriginal people who had recently moved to Winnipeg. The study included 1,350 completed questionnaires with a maximum of three per participant.

The three main reasons for moving cited by participants were family reasons, employment opportunities, and education and training. But upon arrival, housing became the single most important service need for 70% of respondents, compared to 20% who cited employment. At any given time, about 50% of participants had yet to find a place of their own, and many people moved frequently during this period "into larger households with five or more persons... In each successive survey, over 80% of respondents remained living in the inner city of Winnipeg.... It was concluded that many respondents potentially 'gave up' looking for either a place of their own or something better..."

> The fact that so many of these persons living temporarily have done so now for upwards of two years indicates that the state of Winnipeg's housing market is simply incapable of absorbing newly arrived persons. It also underscores the point that a lack of housing options including rent subsidized and affordable units is a reality facing persons not only when they arrive, but also for those choosing to remain in the city even though their prospects of finding a place to live is limited. [12]

Among the particular group of migrants studied (since there was no attempt made to select a representative sample), there was little or no improvement in employment situation or family income during the 15-month period. By survey #3, 75% had a family income under $10,000 per year (or no income) compared to 67.5% at survey #1. The percentage employed or in school increased from 23% to 39%, but on the other hand the percentage of this group who had full-time jobs decreased from 35% to 22%, leaving no change at all in the number employed full-time. During all three surveys, provincial social assistance was the main source of income for 75% of respondents.

With no change in economic circumstances or housing availability, the migrants tended to adapt by forming/joining larger households. The percentage living in households with four or more persons increased from 32% to 57%. The number of persons living with survey respondents increased from 600 to 1,000. But at the same time, the number of bedrooms increased from 348 to 655, so that the number of people per bedroom (an indicator of crowding) actually decreased from 2.85 to 2.09.[13] A household with over two persons per bedroom is still overcrowded by any measure, yet it appears that respondents put into practice the only feasible means of reducing overcrowding under their circumstances.

The IUS mobility study was not overly concerned with how representative the sample was because its focus was upon services for Aboriginal migrants to Winnipeg, and the adequacy and responsiveness of these services. Respondents were asked about their level of familiarity with a list of service agencies. In quite a number of cases a majority of respondents had never heard of the agency in question. In only a few cases had a significant minority of respondents actually used the service – the Indian & Metis Friendship Centre (34%), Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre (31%), Native Addictions Council of Manitoba (18%) and Urban Circle Training Program (14%).

Those agencies that a plurality of respondents knew a little or knew well included: Ma Mawi (42.7%), Kinew Housing (42.2%), Urban Circle (39.4%) and the Friendship Centre (39.2%). While 75% of respondents had at least heard of Kinew Housing, less than 10% had actually used the service. According to the authors of the study, "...this reflects the fact that this organization has over 1,000 people on its waiting list for housing."[14]

According to the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, The Manitoba Housing Agency has over 3,000 people on a waiting list for its 8,000 rent-subsidized units, while urban Aboriginal housing groups have a waiting list of over 2,400 for the 800 units that they manage.[15] We have noted that housing services were cited as the main service need by 70% of respondents – it may be that they are cited so frequently simply because the services that do exist are apparently so inadequate.

LOCAL RESIDENTIAL MOVES

Changes of residence within the same municipality account for most of the difference in apparent mobility rates between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, especially in Winnipeg.[16]

FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS, MANITOBA 2001

	Non-Aboriginal	Metis-Identity	North American Indian-Identity
Same residence	63%	47%	50%
Movers	23%	37%	33%
Migrants	13%	16%	16%

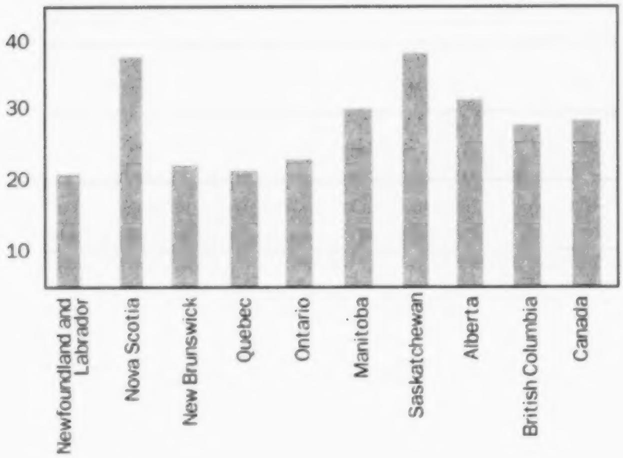
FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS, WINNIPEG 2001

	Non-Aboriginal	Metis-Identity	North American Indian-Identity
Same residence	60%	38%	26%
Movers	29%	51%	54%
Migrants	11%	11%	20%

In Manitoba, Metis people are actually less likely than North American Indians to have lived at the same dwelling five years earlier. However, this is simply because Metis people are more likely to live in Winnipeg, where movements within the municipality are more likely. Of 46,850 Aboriginal people in Winnipeg aged 5+ in 2001, only 15,440 lived at the same residence five years earlier.

In 2001, approximately 31% of Aboriginal households had moved from one Winnipeg residence to another in the past year alone. This is fairly close to the national average for one-year Aboriginal moves within Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) in Canada but, by way of comparison, only 13.6% of non-Aboriginal households in Winnipeg moved during the same period.[17]

Aboriginal Moves Within CMAs, 2000 to 2001, by Province



Probably, housing tenure explains most if not all differences in rates of intra-municipal moves between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal households, and among different types of Aboriginal households. Aboriginal households who rent are approximately twice as likely to have moved in the past five years as those who own their homes. Among Aboriginal single parent households in Winnipeg, less than 10% own their dwelling unit, which is a lower rate of not only two-parent households, but also non-family households. Consequently, the five-year moving rate for Aboriginal single parent households, approximately 80%, is higher than for two-parent households and non-family households.[16] The relative persistence of non-Aboriginal people in their residences, of course, links to their much higher rates of homeownership.

Due to the concentration of rental units in the inner city of Winnipeg, moving rates are generally much higher in these neighbourhoods, particularly among Aboriginal residents. Not captured by Census information is the number of families who may move several times over a five-year period. The 2001 Aboriginal People's Survey does contain information on those who have not simply moved but migrated between municipalities, which casts some light on this. Of the 37% of Winnipeg Aboriginal people who had migrated during the past five years, 19% had migrated once, 8% twice, and 8% three or more times.[19] Doubtless, the figures for moves within a municipality are much higher.

A 1995 study by Manitoba Health observed that:

> Migrancy [frequent movers] is a particular problem for inner-city children ...Migrancy combined with poverty, single parent families and other social difficulties further exacerbates the difficulty of school aged children. In a 1992 review of inner city schools, the lowest [annual] migrancy rate was 40.6%. The highest rate was 84.7% ...Seventy-five percent of migrants were from unemployed single parent families ...In a nine-month period in 1992/93, there were 3,058 single parent family moves out of a possible 3,553.[20]

For example, in 2002, Niji Mahkwa and William Whyte schools had the highest mobility rates in Winnipeg School Division, meaning total number of transfers in or out divided by total enrollment: at 88.3% and 76.9% respectively. They also had the lowest stability rate, meaning number of students not transferred during the school year divided by total enrollment: 71.7% and 74.8%. This means that 20% to 25% of students at the end of the school year had started the year at a different school. It also means that quite a number of students transferred more than once during the school year; otherwise the mobility rate would be approximately twice the 20-25% figure. Several schools at the secondary level (Grade 7 and Grade 8) show even less stability in enrollment – 56.9% at Niji Mahkwa, 65.2% at R.B. Russell, and 69.8% at Children of the Earth – all predominantly Aboriginal schools.[21]

APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS

Aboriginal People - Persons who self-identify with one or more of the three Aboriginal groups recognized in Canada's Constitution (North American Indians, Metis and Inuit), and/or are registered ("Status") Indians under the Indian Act.

North American Indians - Persons who self-identify as North American Indian, or a particular group (such as Ojibway, Cree, Dakota or Dene), whether or not they are registered under the Indian Act.

Status Indians - Persons registered under Canada's Indian Act, including those re-instated since 1985 under the terms of Bill C-31. Status Indians do not necessarily self-identify as North American Indian: a minority identifies as Metis, a few do not self-identify as Aboriginal at all.

Non-Status Indians - North American Indians not registered under the Indian Act.

Metis (orig. Métis) - Persons who self-identify as Metis and are not registered under the Indian Act.

INDIAN TREATIES

Between 1871 and 1910, Canada in right of the British Crown negotiated a series of treaties with First Nations bands located in the Province of Manitoba and in the Northwest Territories. The purpose of these treaties varied somewhat from treaty to treaty, but generally was "to extinguish Indian title in order to 'open up for settlement, immigration and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet' the area ceded."[1]

The treaties for the most part obliged First Nations members to maintain peace between themselves and non-Indians, not molest the persons or property of persons in the ceded territory, and assist law officers in apprehending any Indian breaking the treaty or any laws passed in the ceded territory.

The treaties also placed a variety of obligations on the Crown – including obligations that are subject to continuing re-interpretation and litigation beyond the scope of this publication. Each however required the Crown to set aside reserve land to each band on the basis of either 160 or 640 acres (depending on which treaty) "...for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families." Indian right to hunt and fish within traditional unoccupied territories was affirmed within certain limitations; and annual annuities or gifts were to be provided to band members, chiefs and other officials, and to bands – these vary considerably among treaties. The continuing practice of providing $5 or $6 to each First Nation member on "Treaty Day" stems from Crown obligations set out in the treaties.

Treaties No. 1 to No. 6, and No. 10, cover all First Nations in Manitoba, except for a number of Dakota (Sioux) communities in southwestern Manitoba. Members of the Dakota bands are therefore "Status Indians" but not "Treaty Indians."

Persons wishing to learn more about the terms of the various treaties are referred to the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada web site at www.ainc-inac.gc.ca

TREATY LAND ENTITLEMENT

Treaty land entitlement (TLE) refers to land owed to First Nations under the treaties. Not all First Nations received the full share of land to which they were entitled under the treaties, and a total of 31 First Nations in Manitoba have submitted claims, of which 26 have been validated by Canada.

The Province of Manitoba was not involved in the negotiation of the treaties, and until 1930 the Government of Canada retained control over unallocated Crown land in the province, along with other natural resources. The Manitoba Natural Resources Transfer Agreement (1930) transferred control and administration of these assets to the Province, but also "required the Province to provide Canada with sufficient unoccupied Crown land to fulfill outstanding TLE obligations to Manitoba First Nations."[2] Therefore the province is a party to TLE negotiations, along with the federal government and negotiators representing First Nations.

A Treaty Land Entitlement Committee has been established representing 22 First Nations, 19 of which have federally-validated outstanding claims. Canada, Manitoba and the TLE Committee signed a framework agreement in 1997, stipulating that up to 985,949 acres are to be provided the 19 First Nations by Manitoba, and up to $76 million by Canada for land purchase and other purposes. Negotiations with individual First Nations are ongoing. In addition, individual TLE settlement agreements have been signed by seven First Nations not represented by the TLR Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE: DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Statistics Canada; Aboriginal peoples of Canada: A demographic profile. January 21, 2003. From 1996 to 2001, the non-Aboriginal population of Manitoba decreased by 15,675 or 1.6% of the 1996 population, while the Aboriginal identity population increased by 21,360 or 16.8%
2. Aboriginal populations in the 1991 Census and earlier were based upon ethnic origin or ancestry, and figures from these Censuses are not directly comparable with the 1996 and 2001 Census. These censuses count the Aboriginal population as the population self-identifying as North American Indian, Metis or Inuit, a somewhat smaller group. Therefore, censuses before 1996 overestimated the Aboriginal population, relative to the later censuses, and the rate of growth of the self-identifying Aboriginal population during the 1990's was greater than appears to be indicated by these figures.
3. Statistics Canada; Aboriginal peoples of Canada: A demographic profile. January 21, 2003.
4. Nunavut became a separate territory on April 1st, 1999. Before the 2001 census, its population was included within Northwest Territories.
5. Statistics Canada: www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/abor/canada.cfm
6. Statistics Canada, 1996 and 2001 censuses. Data readily available from the Statistics Canada web site pertains to numbers of people self-identifying as Metis, without subtracting those who are also Status Indians. There are four main categories of Aboriginal people in these data: North American Indian, Metis, Inuit, and other/multiple response. All data in this publication, unless otherwise noted, are from a special roll-up of Census data ordered by Canada and Manitoba for the purpose of this publication. In these data, Aboriginal people are categorized as Status Indian, Non-Status Indian, Metis, Inuit, and other/multiple response.
7. Statistics Canada 94F0041XCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 040. Figures are calculated as per definition in the previous footnote, in order to be consistent with data from the Manitoba special roll-up of Census data. Nationally, there are 30,205 people of Metis identity who also indicate Indian Status. In Manitoba there are 4,435.
8. Multiple responses refer to persons indicating identification with more than one Aboriginal group. "Other" responses refer for the most part to persons who are Status Indians but do not identify with one of the Aboriginal groups. An example would be women from non-Aboriginal communities attaining Status by marrying a Status Indian. In Manitoba, the numbers of Inuit and multiple responses are very small.
9. For administrative purposes, Northern Affairs includes in its definition of "northern" areas of the Interlake and east of Lake Winnipeg that by other definitions are considered southern, such as Peguis, the Lake St. Martin area, and Manigotagan/Wanipogow/ Hollow Water. For this reason, the northern counts above seem high, especially for Status Indians, and the southern numbers correspondingly low.
10. Statistics Canada, 2001 Census Aboriginal Population Profile, at http://www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01ab/PlaceSearchForm1.cfm
11. The exception to this statement would be smaller northern single-industry towns characterized by dependence on a single employer/industry; e.g. Lynn Lake, Gillam and, subsequent to the 2001 Census, Leaf Rapids.
12. Statistics Canada, 2001 Census Aboriginal Population Profile, at http://www12..statcan.ca/english/profil01ab/PlaceSearchForm1.cfm

13. Ibid.

14. Stewart Clatworthy, Four Direction Consulting Group, "Migration and Mobility of Canada's Aboriginal Population," p. 9. Also see same author, "Implications of First Nations Demography," p. 32. Each previous Census showed net inflow to both reserves and urban CMA's. 1996 was the first Census to show a net out-migration from Winnipeg and other urban CMA's. In 2001 there is an in-migration to Winnipeg, but it is of rather negligible proportions.

15. FOCUS discussion based on Four Directions Consulting Group, "Implications of First Nations Demography," Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1997, pp. 14-34

16. Statistics Canada 94F0041XCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 040.

17. Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, Final Report September 1998.

18. Statistics Canada 94F0041XCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 040.

19. Based on figures from Michael Mendelson, "Aboriginal People in Canada's Labour Market: Work and Unemployment, Today and Tomorrow," March 2004, p. 36.

20. Particularly Nault et al (1993), as reported in Four Directions Consulting Group, "Implications of First Nations Demography," Winnipeg, Manitoba, pp. 9-14.

21. Health Canada, "A Statistical Profile on the Health of First Nations in Canada," 2003, p. 13. Data for chart found on p. 17.

22. Province of Manitoba Northern/Aboriginal Health Services, "The Delivery of Health Programs and Services to Northern Residents," May 2003, p. 6.

23. Centre for International Studies, Canadian Council on Social Development, "Child Poverty: What are the Consequences," 1996, p. 19.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO: HEALTH

1. Health Canada: "A Second Diagnosis on the Health of First Nations and Inuit People in Canada," November 1999, found at www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb-dgspni/fnihb/cp/publications/... pp. 6, 14, 19. Data is largely drawn from the 1999 First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey and compared with data from the 1996 National Population Health Survey. Data is national, not specific to Manitoba.

2. Statistics Canada, "Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) Off-Reserve Aboriginal Profile," Table 105-0112. The CCHS does not include First Nations in its sampling frame, and a separate stream of longitudinal surveys has been initiated that is specific to on-reserve communities, the First Nations Regional Longitudinal Health Survey (RHS). The 2nd RHS was conducted in 2002-03; unfortunately, only limited data from this survey has been made available as of the date of this publication.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Canadian Institute for Health Information, "Improving the Health of Canadians," 2004, p. 108-120.

6. Health Canada, "A Statistical Profile on the Health of First Nations in Canada," 2003, p. 14-15. Year 2000 data.

7. Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, "Report Summary – Health and Health Care: Manitoba's First Nations," @ www.umanitoba.ca/centres/mchp/reports/reports_2/rfn.htm.

8. Health Canada, "Statistical Profile..." p. 56.
9. Health Canada, "Statistical Profile..." p. 30.
10. Health Canada, "Trends in First Nations Mortality 1979-1993," 1996, p. 20. Discussions in sections "Mortality" to "Suicide" are based upon this source, unless otherwise noted.
11. Health Canada, "Statistical Profile..." p. 22.
12. Health Canada, "Trends in..." p.23.
13. Canadian Institute for Health Information, op cit, p. 82; derived from Health Canada, "A Statistical Profile on the Health of First Nations in Canada," 2003. The potential years of life lost index emphasizes those causes of death more common among younger people.
14. Province of Manitoba Northern/Aboriginal Health Services, "The Delivery of Health Programs and Services to Northern Residents," May 2003, p. 6.
15. Province of Manitoba, "Injuries in Manitoba: A 10 year review," 2004, p. 73, 181-4 – includes fatalities both on and off-reserve.
16. Health Canada, "Statistical Profile..." p. 34.
17. Province of Manitoba, "Injuries in Manitoba..." p. 180.
18. Quoted in Health Canada, "Trends in..." p.51.
19. Chandler, M.J. and C. Lalonde, "Cultural Continuity as a Hedge Against Suicide in Canada's First Nations," Transcultural Psychiatry, Vol. 35, No. 2 (1998), as summarized in Health Canada, "A Statistical Profile on the Health of First Nations in Canada," 2003, p. 34.
20. First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey National Steering Committee, 1999, p. 68.
21. Health Canada, "Trends in..." p.43.
22. Statistics Canada, The Daily, September 24, 2003: "Aboriginal Peoples Survey: Well-being of the non-reserve Aboriginal population," p. 3.
23. Province of Manitoba Northern/Aboriginal Health Services, "The Delivery of Health Programs and Services to Northern Residents," May 2003, p. 8. Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, "Health and Health Care Use of Registered First Nations People Living in Manitoba: A Population-Based Study," March 2002, p. 139, 153-5.
24. First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey National Steering Committee, 1999, pp. 66-70. The FNIRHS was a First Nation and Inuit controlled health interview survey conducted in 1997 in nine regions (B.C., Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Labrador). Surveys included both national core questions and additional questions designed by regional authorities.
25. Louise Elliott, "Canadian First Nations Lead the Way at Diabetes Conference," in Indian and Northern Affairs, Transition, Winter 1998, p. 2.
26. Manitoba Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat analysis, based on James Blanchard, with Andrew Wajda and Chris Green, "Diabetes and Its Complications: Forecasting the Coming Storm," published by Manitoba Health, 1998 (unpaginated).
27. Blanchard et al, op cit.
28. Health Canada Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative, "Diabetes Among Aboriginal (First Nations, Inuit and Metis) People in Canada: The Evidence," at www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb/cp/adi/publications/the_evidence.htm p. 7.

29. Ibid, p 7-8.
30. Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, Final Report September 1998, p. 8,71.
31. Statistics Canada, CCHS Table 105-0112.
32. Manitoba Health, "Diabetes: A Manitoba Survey," 1998, p. 4.
33. Health Canada Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative, "Diabetes Among Aboriginal (First Nations, Inuit and Metis) People in Canada: The Evidence," at www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb/cp/adi/publications/the_evidence.htm p. 11.
34. Statistics Canada: "Aboriginal Peoples Survey Community Profile," at www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01aps/...
35. Health Canada, "A Statistical Profile..." p. 34.
36. Manitoba Health, "Manitoba's Provincial AIDS Strategy" (undated).
37. Health Canada, "A Statistical Profile on the Health of First Nations in Canada, 2003, p. 7, 40-1.
38. AIDS Services Planning Committee, "Developing Culturally Appropriate HIV/AIDS Programs for Aboriginal People," unpublished, 1999. A study by the Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Network released in June 2000 estimated that one in four new HIV infections nationally are among Aboriginal people, rising to 43% in Saskatchewan. See The Globe and Mail on-line, June 9, 2000.
39. Laboratory Centre for Disease Control, "Epi Update: HIV/AIDS Epidemiology among Aboriginal People in Canada. Ottawa: Health Canada, November 1997. See also Health Canada Information Sheet, "HIV/AIDS and Aboriginal People in Canada," June 1996.
40. Health Canada, "A Statistical Profile..." p. 42.
41. Health Canada, 1999 @ http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/msb/fnihp/tb_e.htm.
42. Alexandra Paul and John Lyons for the Winnipeg Free Press, date not known.
43. Health Canada, "A Statistical Profile..." p. 43-4
44. Statistics Canada: "Aboriginal Peoples Survey Community Profile," at www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01aps/... The Survey was not widely conducted in First Nations: only 123 of over 600 reserves in Canada were surveyed, with the result that information is more reliable for the off-reserve as opposed to the total Aboriginal population. See Help/FAQ at same site.
45. Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, Final Report September 1998, p. 68-69. However, the NLSCY included a category "good" between "fair" and "very good" while the First Nations study, rather inexplicably, did not. The health of 10% of NLSCY Canadian children was rated as "good".
46. First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey National Steering Committee, 1999, p. 11.
47. Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, "Health and Health Care Use of Registered First Nations People Living in Manitoba: A Population-Based Study," March 2002, pp. 82, 94.
48. Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, "Report Summary – Health and Health Care: Manitoba's First Nations," @ www.umanitoba.ca/centres/mchp/reports/reports_?/rfn.htm.
49. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, quoted by Lindor Reynolds for the Winnipeg Free Press, July 16, 2003, p. A7. Second quote in paragraph from Ms. Reynolds, same article.
50. Statistics Canada, CCHS Table 105-0112. Manitoba data agrees with this. The

publication Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, "Health and Health Care Use of Registered First Nations People Living in Manitoba: A Population-Based Study," March 2002, pp. 102, notes that, adjusted for age and sex, 81.5% of First Nations and 83% of other Manitobans made at least one visit to a physician in the previous year; i.e. the difference is negligible.

51. Province of Manitoba Northern/Aboriginal Health Services, "The Delivery of Health Programs and Services to Northern Residents," May 2003, p. 8.
52. Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, "Health and Health Care Use of Registered First Nations People Living in Manitoba: A Population-Based Study," March 2002, pp. 100-1.
53. Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, "Report Summary – Health and Health Care: Manitoba's First Nations," @ www.umanitoba.ca/centres/mchp/reports/reports_2/rfn.htm.
54. FN#. Statistics Canada, CCHS Table 105-0112.
55. Province of Manitoba, "Injuries in Manitoba: A 10 year review," 2004, p. 185–9.
56. Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, Final Report September 1998, p. 53.
57. Erich Kliewer, Teresa Mayer, André Wajda: "The Health of Manitoba's Metis Population and their Utilization of Medical Services: A Pilot Study," May 2002, pp.7-15.
58. Ibid pp. 17-21. The 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey found that 40% of Aboriginal women in Canada living off-reserve reported a diagnosis of diabetes, a figure four times that of non-Aboriginal women in that age group.
59. 1991 APS data. 2001 data specific to the Metis population was not available for purposes of this publication.
60. 2001 Census data on disabilities was not available for purposes of this publication.
61. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, "Backgrounder: Social Development," based on 1994 Statistics Canada information.
62. During a 1996 inquiry, agencies for the disabled and disabled Aboriginal participants pointed to a lack of services in outlying Manitoba communities. See Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Aboriginal Persons with a Disability: Training and Employment Challenges," 1996, p. xi, 51. See also the report of the Provincial Aboriginal Youth Conference, "Windows to the Future: Time for Change," pp. 16-17 (Workshop 19: Disability Awareness).
63. Unpublished 1996 Census material. Numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding error.
64. Greg Pindera, Staff Writer, Winnipeg Sun, February 1997.
65. Winnipeg Free Press, Winnipeg Sun, February 25 and 26, 1997.
66. First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey National Steering Committee, 1999, p. 17.
67. Workshop on "Vulnerable Babies," Ottawa, November 10, 1997. Rates of smoking during pregnancy by contrast were higher for low SES mothers, including single parents. The NLSCY excluded on-reserve residents, but over 4% of respondents were off-reserve Aboriginal people.
68. Alexandra Paul for the Winnipeg Free Press, September 9, 2000.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE: CHILD CARE AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Manitoba Children and Youth Secretariat, "Strategy Considerations for Developing Services for Children and Youth," March 1997, p.6.
2. On-reserve populations are excluded from the sample of the NLSCY. Metis and off-reserve Aboriginal are included in the sample in numbers proportionate to their share of the population. Because of the child/youth demographic of the Aboriginal population, they are 4.3% of the sample. See Human Resources Development Canada, "Growing Up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth," 1996, pp.16-18. Quote from p.33.
3. Michael Rutter, "Resilience in the Face of Adversity: Protective Factors and Resistance to Psychiatric Disorder," In British Journal of Psychiatry Vol. 147, 1985. As quoted in Manitoba Children and Youth Secretariat, "Strategy Considerations for Developing Services for Children and Youth," March 1997, p.6.
4. Human Resources Development Canada, "Growing Up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth," 1996, p. 109. Parenting styles may reduce but do not eliminate the negative impact of low SES. "Negative parenting" is defined "harsh parenting" (showing frequent anger or annoyance at the child), inconsistency in discipline, and lack of positive interaction between mother and child. Of the three, harsh parenting by mothers appears to have the strongest negative impact. Father's parenting practices, by and large, were not captured in NLSCY questionnaires.
5. Statistics Canada, Catalogue # 89-597-XIE, "A Portrait of Aboriginal Children Living in Non-Reserve Areas: Results from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey," pp.12-13.
6. Stewart Clatworthy & Michael Mendelson, "A Statistical Profile of Aboriginal Youth in Canada," 1999, pp.33-34. 2001 Census data on children aged 0-14 was not available for purposes of this publication.
7. Manitoba Children and Youth Secretariat, information package dated September 1997, unpaginated.
8. Manitoba Department of Family Services Child and Family Support Branch.
9. Manitoba Children and Youth Secretariat, "Strategy Considerations for Developing Services for Children and Youth," March 1997, p.17. See also Canadian Red Cross Society, Winnipeg Region, "Vulnerable Youth Needs Assessment," December 1995, p. 9: "In 1994/95, Winnipeg Child and Family Services had a year end case load of 2755 children. Of those, 40 percent were permanent wards (i.e. they will not be returning home) ...Of all permanent wards in 1995, 69.1 were Aboriginal." Winnipeg CFS served a total of 5,388 children in care in that year.
10. Winnipeg Free Press, June 2, 1998: "Aboriginals in CFS custody on increase" (sic).
11. There may be undercounting of Metis children by the mainstream CFS agencies.
12. Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, November 1991, @ www.ajic.mb.ca/volume1/chapter14.html., p. 14-15. On March 31, 1997, the on-reserve CFS agencies also had in care 53 non-Status Indian children, but only one Metis child. The seven Inuit children in care were all under the mainstream CFS agencies.
13. Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, November 1991, @ www.ajic.mb.ca/volume1/chapter14.html., p.18. The number of Status children under First Nations CFS care has increased from 629 in 1984, to 1,012 in 1990, to 1,609 in 1997.
14. Manitoba Government News Release, February 22, 2000.
15. The Drum, November 2003, pp. 1, 3.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR: EDUCATION AND TRAINING

1. S. Loizides and J. Zieminski for the Conference Board of Canada, "Members' Briefing: Employment Prospects for Aboriginal People," November 1998, based on a 1998 survey of 300 "very large companies" employing over 1,000 employees. 92% of companies had increasing Aboriginal workforce representation as an explicit objective but only half reported a strategy for achieving this.
2. Metis National Council, "Needs Assessment Study on Literacy for Metis People," p.65. Study undated on author's copy.
3. Statistics Canada 94F004IXCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 042.
4. See Chart. For most socio-economic statistics, if you set up a chart with columns in this order, the figures will rise or fall from left to right, with Metis falling between non-Aboriginal and Status. The high university enrolment among Status Indians compared to Metis is unusual, particularly given that more Metis have completed high school, which is a prerequisite to attending university.

NOTES TO FOCUS: YOUTH

1. Stewart Clatworthy & Michael Mendelson, "A Statistical Profile of Aboriginal Youth in Canada," 1999, pp.37-38. Based on 1996 Census data - 2001 data unavailable for purposes of this publication.
2. Statistics Canada 94F004IXCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 042.
3. Statistics Canada, "Aboriginal Peoples Survey: Well-being of the non-reserve Aboriginal population," from The Daily, September 24, 2003, p. 18.
4. Statistics Canada 94F004IXCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 044.
5. 1981, 1986 and 1991 figures from Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Manitoba's Aboriginal Population Characteristics 1986-91," Unpublished draft dated February 1996, unpaginated appendix. 1996 figure from original version of this publication. As explained therein, the 1996 Census excluded persons of partial Aboriginal original who did not self-identify as Aboriginal, and the reduction in the unemployment rate between 1991 and 1996 was probably greater than the 0.1% indicated in Census figures. Therefore, the continuing decline in these figures appears quite steady and consistent through the 1981 to 2001 period.
6. Statistics Canada 94F004IXCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 044.
7. Clatworthy and Mendelson, op cit, p. 76. 1996 data.
8. Ibid, p. 78-80.
9. Ibid, p. 85.
10. National Post Online @ wysiwyg://Network_Page.73/http:// www.nationalpost.com/news/story.html September 15, 2000. A recent Winnipeg Free Press article identifies the number of active gang members at 1,575 in 1997 and 1,560 in 1999 – about 300 lower.
11. Melanie Nimmo, "The 'Invisible' Gang Members: A Report on Female Gang Association in Winnipeg," June 200, p.17.

12. National Post article, op cit.
13. Canadian Red Cross Society, Winnipeg Region, "Vulnerable Youth Needs Assessment," December 1995, p.19.
14. Clatworthy & Mendelson, op cit, p.46-49.
15. Dept. of Justice Canada, "A One-Day Snapshot of Aboriginal Youth in Custody Across Canada," March 2002, p. 71.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE: JUSTICE

1. Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, November 1991, @ www.ajic.mb.ca/volume1/chapter3.html, p. 20-21.
2. Ibid, chapter 4, p.14.
3. Statistics Canada, "Juristat: The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics," Cat. No. 85-002-XIE Vol. 19 No.4. See also Statistics Canada, "Adult Correctional Services in Canada 1997-98," Cat. No. 85-211-XIE, p.24.
4. Statistics Canada Catalogue # 85F0033MIE: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, "Aboriginal Peoples in Canada," June 2001, p.18.
5. Correctional Service of Canada, "Aboriginal Initiatives Branch: Facts and Figures," @ www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgr/correctional/abissues/know/4_e.s... The data for the chart on Aboriginal over-representation in provincial prisons are drawn from this source.
6. See Carol La Prairie and Philip Stenning, "Exile on Main Street: Some Thoughts on Aboriginal Over-Representation in the Criminal Justice System," in Newhouse and Peters (ed.) Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples, 2002, pp. 179-187.
7. Ibid, p. 187. The authors, however, go on to suggest that this causative argument calls into question the efficacy of or need for alternative Aboriginal justice institutions, which is non sequitur.
8. See www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/eaboriginal.htm, p. 1.
9. Dept. of Justice Canada, "A One-Day Snapshot of Aboriginal Youth in Custody Across Canada," March 2002, pp. 75-6.
10. Statistics Canada Catalogue # 85F0033MIE: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, "Aboriginal Peoples in Canada," June 2001, pp.6-7. Calvin Hanselmann for Canada West Foundation, "Urban Aboriginal People in Western Canada: Realities and Policies," 2001, p. 7.
11. Statistics Canada, "Adult Correctional Services in Canada 1997-98," Cat. No. 85-211-XIE, p.21.
12. See www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/emyths.htm, p.2; also www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/eaboriginal.htm, p. 1. International statistics were provided by the Council of Europe, Council of Penological Co-operation, September 1, 1996.
13. Statistics Canada, "Juristat: The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics," Cat. No.85-002-XIE Vol.19 No.5, p.2. Also, see Department of Justice Canada Performance Report for the period ending March 31, 1998, p.18.
14. Frank Landry for the Winnipeg Sun, October 28, 2004, p. 7, based upon Statistics Canada data released October 27, 2004.
15. For definitions of these terms, see the Solicitor General Canada web site at www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/ealtincarceration.htm and www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/erestjustice.htm.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX: LABOUR AND INCOME

1. Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, in "The Daily," July 5th, 1996 and July 6th, 2001.
2. Because the Labour Force Survey is based on a relatively small sample, it is less reliable the smaller the aggregate population of the community for which it reports. The LFS is suitable for comparing unemployment and labour market participation rates at the Census Metropolitan Area level, and at the provincial level provided that the exclusion of on-reserve communities is noted.
3. 1981 and 1991 figures from Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Manitoba's Aboriginal Population Characteristics 1986-91," Unpublished draft dated February 1996, p.7.
4. Statistics Canada 94F0041XCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 044.
5. Michael Mendelson, "Aboriginal People in Canada's Labour Market: Work and Unemployment, Today and Tomorrow," March 2004, p. 32.
6. Ibid, p. 26, 30. All else being equal, Aboriginal labour market participation should be considerably higher than non-Aboriginal participation, because of age structure. LMP is measured as the proportion of persons aged 15+ who are in the labour market (employed, self-employed or unemployed). Fewer Aboriginal people are of retirement age, and fewer are in a position to withdraw from the labour market due to either investments or family situations (single-earner families).
7. Bruce Hallett, "Aboriginal People in Manitoba," p. 68. This analysis is based on 1996 Census data; 2001 data unavailable at time of writing.
8. Conference Board of Canada, "Employment Prospects for Aboriginal People," by S. Loizides and J. Zieminski, November 1998.
9. Unpublished 1996 and 2001 Census data. Two caveats are in order here: (1) the Metis count increased greatly from 1996 to 2001, and about 2/3 of this increase was due to persons self-identifying as Metis who did not do so in the previous Census. To the extent that this group had greater labour market participation than the group identifying as Metis in both Censuses, this would artificially inflate the apparent increase in labour market participation. (2) For demographic reasons outlined in note 6 above, Metis would be expected to have a higher participation rate than the general population, all else being equal. More detailed tabulations showing participation by Aboriginal group by age bracket, presumably, would show a Metis participation rate approximately or substantively equal to the non-Aboriginal rate.
10. See Mendelson, op cit, pp. 18-27 for an analysis of national Aboriginal labour market participation based on unemployment rates. The conclusion drawn was that unemployment did discourage Aboriginal participation, but to a lesser extent than would be expected by the high unemployment figures. Certain regional variations in this relationship were also identified.
11. Metis National Council, "Needs Assessment Study on Literacy for Metis People," p.71. Study undated on author's copy.
12. Province of Manitoba, Family Services – 2003-04 Caseload Statistics by category, as quoted in Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, "Winnipeg Labour Market Information Handbook 2004-05, p. 12.
13. Median income refers to the income of "the average person"; i.e. the person in relation to whom half of the population earns less and half earns more. This is different from "average income," which is the total reported income divided by the number of

respondents. Average income figures are several thousands of dollars larger than median income figures, because a relatively small number of wealthy people can raise the average considerably.

14. Canadian Council on Social Development, "The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty 2000," highlights @ http://www.ccsd.ca/pubs/2000/fbpov00/hl.htm
15. Ibid.
16. For a comprehensive discussion of the debate regarding poverty indicators, please see "The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty 2000," Chapter Two, published by the Canadian Council on Social Development.
17. Statistics Canada 94F0041XCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 046.
18. Statistics Canada's LICO indicator applies to off-reserve situations only.
19. For example, boarders, grandparents or aunts/uncles living in the same household as a census family, or single persons living on their own or with persons other than their family.
20. The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty, CCSD, 1994. The "households" column includes unattached individuals and excludes households where the head of household is over age 60.
21. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Manitoba Child Poverty Report Card," November 2002 position paper, @ http://www.spcw.mb.ca/reference.asp. By "poverty line," the report means the Statistics Canada LICO.
22. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Manitoba Child Poverty Report Card 2003", @ http://www.spcw.mb.ca/reference.asp.
23. Bob Holliday for the Winnipeg Sun, 16 October 2004, p. 6.
24. See for e.g. Statistics Canada, "The Daily," Tuesday, May 12, 1998, p.16: "The Statistics Canada survey that determines low-income cut-offs... excludes these areas [on-reserve, Yukon and Northwest Territories]."
25. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Poverty Barometer," March 2002 @ http://www.spcw.mb.ca/reference.asp.

NOTES TO FOCUS: WINNIPEG

1. John Loxley, "Aboriginal Economic Development in Winnipeg," in Solutions that Work: Fighting Poverty in Winnipeg, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – Manitoba, 2000, pp. 84-85.
2. Andrew J. Siggner, "Urban Aboriginal Populations: An Update Using the 2001 Census Results," in Not Strangers in These Parts, David Newhouse & Evelyn Peters [ed.], p.16.
3. Tom Carter, Chesya Polevychok and Kurt Sargeant, University of Winnipeg Institute of Urban Studies, "Winnipeg's Inner City on 2001," Research Highlights No. 1, October 2003, p.6. There is a map defining what is meant by the "inner city" on p. 5.
4. 2001 Census data, available at City of Winnipeg web page located at http://www.winnipeg.ca/census/2001/Selected%20Topics/default.asp
5. D. Lezubski, J. Silver & E. Black, "High and Rising: the Growth of Poverty in Winnipeg," in Solutions that Work: Fighting Poverty in Winnipeg, pp. 31-39. Figures are for all inner city residents, not just Aboriginal residents. No 2001 Census update of these figures is available.
6. Ibid, p. 42. Also, see Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Child Poverty in Manitoba:

Report Card 1998," p. 17. In March 1997, 5,626 children lived in homes that accessed Winnipeg Harvest, which distributed a total of 5,560,973 pounds of food in 1997, compared to 835,451 pounds in 1987.

7. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Child Poverty in Manitoba: 1998 Report Card," p. 14.
8. Unpublished 1996 Census data. 2001 data is not available. The median incomes for this chart were derived by averaging male and female median incomes.
9. Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, Manitoba Aboriginal Persons: A Statistical Profile," 1998, p.8.
10. Statistics Canada, "Living Arrangements of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children," @ www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic...
11. Norris, Beavon & Saunders for Indian Affairs Dept. Strategic Research, "Winnipeg's First Nations Members: Location, Migration and Population," unpublished draft, November 1999, p.11, 19.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN: HOUSING AND MOBILITY

1. Table from Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, "Key Changes in the Socio-Demographic and Economic Circumstances of Manitoba's Aboriginal Population Between 1996 and 2001," Unpublished, p. 6. 30% figure for housing in need of major repair is from First Nations Centre of the National Aboriginal Health Organization, "Preliminary Findings of the First Nations Regional Longitudinal Health Survey (HRS) 2002-03 – Adult Survey," p. 3, as 2001 Census figure is unavailable at time of publication. Therefore, caution should be exercised in using the figure to demonstrate that the number of on-reserve houses needing major repairs has declined between 1996 and the early 2000's.
2. Analysis and map by author, based upon data maps on homeownership (60% or less) and average gross rent ($500 or less) found at http://www.winnipeg.ca/census/2001/Selected%20Topics/default.asp
3. Jason Brown, Nancy Higgit, Susan Wingert, Larry Morrissette, "Shared responsibility: Building sustainable communities in Winnipeg's inner city," 2004, p. 2.
4. CMHC, "Special Studies on 1996 Census Data: Housing Conditions of North American Indian, Metis and Inuit Households in Canada," 2002, p. 2.
5. Ibid, p. 4-5.
6. Ibid, p. 11.
7. Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, op cit.
8. Backgrounder to May 1996 press release, INAC (www.inac.gc.ca/news/may96/1-9630.html) pp. 1-2.
9. Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, "Health and Health Care Use of Registered First Nations People Living in Manitoba: A Population-Based Study." March 2002, pp. 169 ,172.
10. Statistics Canada 94F0041XCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 040.
11. Stewart Clatworthy, Four Directions Consulting Group, "Migration and Mobility of Canada's Aboriginal Population," September 1996, p. 13.
12. Institute of Urban Studies, "First Nations/Metis/Inuit Mobility Study: Final Report," March 2004, pp. i, 1, 17, 19. Quoted passage found on page 35. 525 individuals

completed the first questionnaire, of whom 384 completed the first follow-up and 437 the second follow-up. 357 (68%) completed all three.

13. Ibid, pp. 36-41, 88, 92.
14. Ibid, p. 83, also p. 79.
15. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Urban Aboriginal Housing," April 2004 address to the Canadian Housing & Renewal Association.
16. Tables derived from data in Statistics Canada 94F0041XCB (Aboriginal People of Canada 2001 Census CD-R), Table 040.
17. Ibid. There are no CMA's in Prince Edward Island.
18. Clatworthy, op cit, p. 22.
19. Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey Community Profile – Winnipeg, MB.
20. Brian Postl, Manitoba Health, "The Health of Manitoba's Children," 1995, pp. 107-108.
21. Winnipeg School Division Research, Planning and Technology Department, February 17, 2004, p. B7, B11.

NOTES TO APPENDIX A

1. Wording from Treaty No. 5, signed by various central and northern Manitoba bands in 1875-6, is selected here for its relative brevity. Other treaties specify activities beyond immigration and settlement - including trade, mining, travel and lumbering - and include a further purpose that there "may be peace and good will" between them (the bands) and His/Her Majesty, and between them and His/Her Majesty's other subjects.
2. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, "First Nations Community Profiles 2001-02: Manitoba Region," 2001, p. 186. Persons wishing to know more about the terms of the TLE Framework Agreement are referred to pp. 186-191.